Cross-cultural Lifelong Learning

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(ed.)

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Contents

What this book is about

The book at hand has its foundation in the collaboration and knowledge construction of an international writing community, which aimed at examining cross- and intercultural (lifelong) learning, education and work in a more globalised, international world. The core team of writers consisted of the junior and senior scholars participating in the CROSSLIFE project 2005–2008, especially in its pilot phase 2007–08. This large international project was coordinated by the Department of Education at the University of Tampere. Professors Anja Heikkinen (University of Tampere, Finland) and Terri Seddon (Monash University, Australia) led CROSSLIFE in its different phases. Later writers from Tampere, Copenhagen and Roskilde Universities joined the writing community. Some of writers also have very international backgrounds, representing different nationalities from Eastern Europe, Asia and North America. Thus the writers themselves bring a very international experience and life-history perspective to this cross-cultural lifelong learning discussion.

The research and development project CROSSLIFE (Cross-cultural collaboration in lifelong learning and work) was originally targeted at developing collaboratively research-based MA/Doctoral study programmes for European and Australian universities. The main, ambitious goal of CROSSLIFE was to develop a cross-cultural teaching and learning pathway and infrastructure based on global networks which would revitalise academic apprenticeship preparing researchers and research professionals as experts in the field of lifelong learning in globally interconnected transnational times. This book, as an academic effort, continues this work and spirit and brings to light the personal studies and reflections of junior and senior scholars about globalisation, internationalisation, cross-culturality, multiculturalism and other related issues affecting lifelong learning in global times.

The chapters in this book address different phases of the life course and areas of lifelong learning, education and work in cross-cultural contexts. In different levels of national education systems (from early childhood education to adult education and learning) the understandings of the challenges of internationalisation and multiculturalism for educational institutions themselves and for their curricula must be reflected. Higher education has traditionally been the core sector in education in which international cooperation has been very important. The science and the scientific communities were very international in nature and for the development of the science internationality proved to be a vital condition. This is seen in the strategies of the higher education institutions and in the fact that the academic actors' (researchers, teachers and students) mobility has been strongly supported during last decades. Internationalisation has on the other hand become a trend and the indicator of the retaining of the competitive ability. As such it is a very complex question.

At educational policy level one has to re-estimate how the dominant Western views of knowledge-based economy really fit in a multicultural and globally interconnected world. The national interests concerning one-sided favouring of top and high level education should move in the direction of observing and appreciation of diversity and social justice. In a global market-driven economy education has become a tradable commodity. Organisations offering education and training, like higher education institutions, have to search for a new balance between centralized elite institutions and autonomous democratic institutions if they want to continue supporting diversity and the principles of social justice in their societies. During educational system reforms in developing countries this seems to be a very important question on the policy agenda. (see Timsina in this volume.)

In the views which emphasise multiculturalism and integration, the significance of education and teaching as the converter of attitudes and as the enhancer of intercultural sensitivity is often emphasised in policy and curriculum discourses. In primary and secondary education

curricular themes like citizenship, civic education and citizen's basic education (in other words 'Bildung') are discussed as an addition to the cognitive competences which aims at further studies or at the vocational track after school. The significance of citizenship/civic education will emerge in the curricula objectives which enhance aims like equality and mutual understanding of cultural groups. Moral citizenship can be something where the diversity issue is understood as a resource for cross-cultural learning and intercultural sensitivity (see more the introductory text by Korhonen in this volume).

Educational institutions and the teachers in them have to tackle new tasks in the global and transnational change. The teachers are often in practice the ones which to an increasing extent will meet students representing different ethnic groups as a consequence of growing immigration. The practices of teaching and learning have to be re-thought in intercultural learning situations and a balance has to be sought in social interaction in classrooms. Internationality can also be an objective for teaching and learning when training programmes enhancing multiculturalism are developed in educational institutions. In secondary and tertiary education international curricula and programmes have increased a lot in Finland and elsewhere. From the basis of the international tertiary education curriculum development project, CROSSLIFE, Weil and others (in this volume) discuss how on the surface level the cross-cultural learning scenario is realised in curricula, in presentations and discussions, by pedagogical methods, practical experiences and group dynamics. But on the other hand in the deep level it might facilitate another much more significant lear-ning perspective, that it sensitises to other cultural backgrounds and leads to a deeper analysis and reflection of a person's own cultures as well, in other words, towards intercultural sensitivity.

In working life cultural diversity and globalisation become reality in situations where organisations and their clients or partners are more culturally diverse than before and operate more and more in global fields and markets. Subjective learning and professional identity can

become dependent on many kinds of sociopolitical structures in this kind of work environment and division of labour. Identity in these circumstances is the recognition and objectification of subjectivities which are the embodiment of relations produced through social and historical experience. Reality is conceived as full of conflicts and repressions which cause contradictions and ambivalences in identity and subjectivity. (see Yang in this volume.) These observations of new identity challenges in global times describe the challenges of social and cultural learning in more hybrid contexts of action, which can be very sensitive to global economical and seasonal changes. Identities may be constantly under negotiation in global and transnational work fields.

Discourses in working life evidence the need for cultural competences and diversity leadership. These are connected, among others, to practices of recruiting immigrant labour, reduction of discriminating practices in work and overall preparation for meeting the challenges of internationalisation. Diversity could be turned into strength by developing organisational strategies and work counselling practices for cross-cultural learning and communication (see Korhonen and Myllylä in this volume). With cultural knowledge and understanding organisations can create opportunities for successful internal and external exchange of ideas, innovations, practices and evaluations. With these agendas organisations can also create common ground for shared community and knowledge building and evince means for mediating conciliating actions between cultures or diverse groups.

The book aspires to arouse questions and discussion and elicit experiences and expectations of different kinds of important themes which highlight the cross-cultural aspects of lifelong learning in global transnational times. There are four separate themes in this book which aim to help the reader to identify the different, versatile aspects of cross- and intercultural issues of life-long, and at same time, life-wide and life-deep learning. Before going to the main themes an introductory text "Towards intercultural sensitivity" (Korhonen)

introduces the theories of sociocultural learning and acculturation, and contemplates why and how intercultural sensitivity might be an important issue for cross-cultural lifelong learning. The first theme *"Nature of 'Culture' and Cultural Learning in and between Cultures"* starts with a chapter of theoretical approaches from culture and discussions on the challenges of intercultural teaching and learning in context of increasing mobility and cultural hybridity (Virkama). The second chapter goes deeper into intercultural communication situations and the dialogical competences needed (Pietilä) and the third chapter studies the migration in the life course through the personal narrative perspective (Sampakoski).

The second theme *"Youth, Values and Citizenship Education in Culturally Diverse Settings"* introduces cross-cultural learning in youth and goals for citizenship education in curricula. The theme starts with empirical study made at the European Youth Voluntary Service Program (EVS) and the nature of learning in an intercultural context (Iannone, Procter & Skrypnyk). The next chapter deals with youth values and findings from a youth diversity value comparison conducted in nine countries (Lindh & Korhonen). The authors discuss on youth values and attitudes towards the co-existence of different ethnic groups and what challenges this might pose for citizenhip/civic education in schools. The discussion on the goals of citizenship education in diverse cultures continues in the third chapter, where the focus is on the reduction of gender inequality, especially violence against women, among young men and women (Chakraborty).

The third theme "*Cross-cultural Impacts in Higher and Adult Education*" brings to light experiences from the CROSSLIFE international higher education development effort, and its impacts on university teaching and learning (Weil, Stolz, Otazo & Baumgartner) and its experiences and co-operation in the planning phase (Kraus & Sultana). The third chapter in the theme addresses experiences and expectations from the field of adult literacy education, where the development target was to adopt the "Western" Total Quality Mana-

gement idea to "Eastern" adult education in India and debate why cross-cultural borrowing might not always be the appropriate solution for educational development (Aktar Ali). The fourth and final theme *"Cross-cultural Economy and Working life"* continues this discussion and the tensions produced between "Western" knowedge economy and "Eastern" developing and transitional countries views (Timsina). The second chapter tries to explore the effects on the subjectivity and identity level in the changing global business and industry context (Yang) and the last, third chapter explores more closely the diversity issue and preparedness for multicultural aspects of work in the context of building organisation-wide strategies for cross-cultural leadership and counselling in working life (Korhonen & Myllylä).

Vesa Korhonen

Introduction

1

Towards Intercultural Sensitivity – Some Considerations when Studying Cross-Cultural Issues from a Lifelong Learning Perspective

Vesa Korhonen

Abstract – In this introductory article, an attempt is made to create an overall view of cultural learning, and of those changes and challenges of lifelong learning taking place both inside the culture and between cultures. Theoretical tools for outlining cross-cultural lifelong learning are the sociocultural learning approach and acculturation theory. The character of lifelong learning in a changing internationalising world and in cross-cultural arenas seems to be very complicated and multifaceted. Where cultures, different groups or different people interact, they must adapt them selves to the changes and be better aware of their relationships to diversity and cultural issues. As a result of the internationalisation and multiculturalism, intercultural sensitivity together with moral citizenship are discussed as an actual response to these challenges in different areas in lifelong learning, such as citizenship, education and work life.

Keywords: cultural learning and socialisation, sociocultural learning approach, identity, acculturation theory, intercultural sensitivity, moral citizenship

Conceptions of culture and cultural socialisation

'Culture' as such is a very diversified concept. There are numerous definitions of what culture is. It depends on what perspective is used for examining the cultural influences or culture itself in lifelong learning. For example Eliasoph and Lichtermann (2003) define culture generally as a system of shared beliefs, values, habits, communication forms and artifacts, which may be partly conscious or partly unconscious. Culture is mediated between generations through learning and socialisation. Culture could be understood as a shared meaning system a collective representation – which means a common language, symbols or codes which constitute community members' actions and thinking. This definition represents common thoughts on what culture is and how its influences are interpreted from a sociocultural perspective.

One also widely used definition is presented by Geert Hofstede (1991; 2003) who studied work life values in different countries and organisational cultures worldwide. According to him culture is like a collective programming of mind which distinguishes the members of a certain group or social class from each other. This definition also stresses the role of the socialisation and social learning in the human life course. The sources of a person's cultural mental programmes lie within the social environments in which that person grew up and accumulated life experiences. The "programming" starts in the early childhood within family and continues within the neighborhood, at school, at youth clubs, in further studies, in work life, in the person's own family and in the other living communities during the life course. Thus, culture is primarily a collective phenomenon. It is at least partly shared by people who live or have lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned. (Hofstede, 1991, pp. 3–4.)

Despite these widely acknowledged assumptions, humans are no longer under the influence of only one monolithic culture during their life course. Internalisation, globalisation, multiculturalism are

general trends and discourses affecting everyday life, education and work life. These trends have an impact on how lifelong learning and cultural influences are conceptualized. For instance, Stuart Hall (1995) proposed a re-conceptualization of culture: it is not settled, enclosed, or internally coherent. It is formed through the juxtaposition and co-presence of different cultural forces and discourses, and their effects. Humans may concurrently be members of several cultural spheres and act daily in different cultural environments at home, at work, at leisure and elsewhere. Conceptions of 'culture' are changing towards multiple understandings of inter- or cross-cultural influences (see Virkama in this volume). Every human being may be in touch with different kinds of cultural influences. National cultures are historically constructed and fluxed in many ways. In addition, they are constantly influenced by different cultural effects. Salo-Lee and others (1998) state that intercultural communication occurs inside a person's own national cultural communication. In addition, it is advisable to keep in mind that cross-cultural connections have rapidly increased globally in recent decades. People live, act and travel in multicultural societies by crossing the borders of cultural boundaries in many ways locally or globally. Thus, how culture affects us in the socialisation process is nowadays a very complicated process.

When considering cultural learning and socialisation it may be important to look at what is individually and what is culturally bound. Hofstede (1991; 2003) outlined the relationship of individual, group and culture, providing one vehicle for understanding cultural influences on human development. He distinguishes three different levels in human mental programming: universal, collective and in-dividual (Fig. 1). *The universal level* (human nature) is common to all. Hofstede (ibid.) states that this level covers human basic abilities like the ability to feel fear, love, hate or joy, observe the environment and talk about it to others, and the need to stay in contact with others. However, what one does with these feelings, how a person expresses fear, joy, observa-tions, and others, is modified by culture. *The collective level* (culture) is

common to members in certain groups. Humans who share the same kind of learning and socialisation process speak the same language and understand each other's habits and ways of action. It is worth noting that these specific features of a group or category are entirely learnt. *The individual level* (personality), however, is a unique personal set of mental programmes that need not be shared with any other human being. It is based on traits that are partly learned and partly inherited. Learned in this connection means modified by the influence of collective programming (culture), as well as by unique personal experiences.
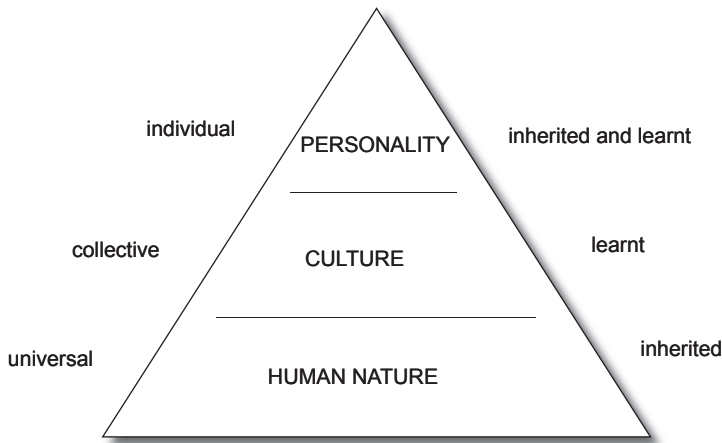
Figure 1. The three different levels of human agency (Hofstede, 1991, 4).

This outline is naturally a simplification, but illustrative, from the point of view of cultural learning and socialisation in the life course. The human higher mental functions – how we understand ourselves and others, what our values and appreciations are – are socially and culturally bound to that cultural reference group, or to the community which is important to us and which we consider as our mental home. Vygotsky (1978; see also Cole, 1998) thought a lot about how human mental functions are mediated through social significances

and linked to collectively divided and historically shaped networks of meanings. It should be kept in mind that culture is not the same thing as the entity formed by the borders of one country (see Kraus & Sultana in this volume). When the world changes the culture is a highly diversified and constantly changing collectively shared network of meanings constructed between humans in their communication and creating a basis for human identity and world view. Thus, not all learning occurs inside one monolithic culture, but rather in the arenas of cross-cultural influences and spaces between cultures, so the image of socialisation and learning is therefore worth widening. Lifelong learning also entails questions of humanity and diversity, which should not be bypassed in an internationalising world. This is something which touches the core of human nature and world views and transcends cultural or national circumstances. A new understanding of intercultural sensitivity in the areas of citizenship, education and work life is clearly needed.

Sociocultural learning as enculturation, participation and communication

The sociocultural approach describes learning as enculturation in the meanings constructed in and around a certain condensed culture. From the point of view of lifelong learning institutionalised educational communities (formal education and training) produce only a minor part of those meanings (like knowledge and skills) which are learnt and needed in the human life course. Enculturation is not merely a matter of absorbing culture as such from outside in, instead, enculturation is highly context and situation dependent. For instance, the anthropologist Robert Aunger (2000; see also Aunger, 2002) proposes that, firstly, it is important to identify the agents behind the cultural transmission. There seem to be substantial areas in which the expectation of informal

educational transmission (non-parental, non-schooling) is fulfilled. Informal learning and activity in social communities produce the necessary practical knowledge and skills in the prevailing culture. Secondly, it is appropriate to examine who has access to knowledge in a community. Not everyone has equal access to knowledge. Hierarchies and power relations in a community give its members differing degrees of access to the essential knowledge. Thirdly, by emphasising the need for beliefs and values to spread, it forces attention on the psychology of information acquisition and construction. Do individuals value what is perhaps necessary for everyday life rather than the transmission of cultural beliefs and values per se? Thus, enculturation may have many manifestations in the same cultural context. What seems essential is the interaction between individual and environment/context, where both actively affect each other. In addition, enculturation always occurs in the context of certain historic times, where sociocultural factors colour generation's life experiences and create assumptions of what is "normal" under the circumstances.

Learning in the lifelong continuum takes place through participation in and membership of activity contexts and under certain cultural circumstances. Apart from teaching and learning in schooling, where learners work with abstract and decontextualised knowledge, Jean Lave (1997) has proposed that cultural learning is basically bound to situations and everyday practices. It is more likely to be non-intentional than deliberate activity. Learners become members of a community of practice where certain beliefs and modes of action occur. Human identity is constructed during the life course by the constitutive effects of the different communities which people are in contact with. According to the social theory formulated by Etienne Wenger (1998), four different aspects of learning appear in the participation process: learning as belonging to something (community), learning as becoming something (identity), learning as experience (meaning) and learning as action (practice). Thus, learning is bound to the meaningful experienced community and to the practices and

identity construction in that community. Learning assumes activity in the community and through participation the activity process is transformed into experiences and development. Wenger (1998, p. 159) also points out that that identity should be viewed as a nexus of multimembership in different communities of practice which influence the life situation at a certain moment in the life course. When a cultural context changes, for example, in migration – and humans participate in totally new communities – the participation processes begin again. After migration the individual's consciousness of who he/she is often undermined (Talib et al., 2004). Identity has to be re-shaped to suit a new place, new communities, new language and a new culture. The core members in the community, in other words, the mainstream population, their attitudes and values play an important role in the immigrants' options for participation and in their identities in the target country communities.

From the point of view of sociocultural learning *identity* is a central concept. As such, the identity concept has been defined in very different ways. The identity can contain the ideas, images, attitudes and feelings concerning the self. It can be constructed in social action by identifying, by committing to the roles and by working challenges and problems. The social construction of identity is based on positioning and agency in the social relationships in a community and in its moral order. (Côté & Levine, 2002.) Cultural, ethnic identity is an example of social identity construction and identification in the spaces in and between cultures (Seelye & Wasilewski, 1996). Kraus and Sultana (in this volume) propose that 'national' and 'cultural' identities are not exactly one and same thing when thinking about the source of ethnic identity. As stated earlier, the boundaries of the surrounding culture may be smaller or larger than the confines determined by the nation state. The other sides of our identity, such as gendered identity or professional identity (our educated mindset), may emerge equally well in collaborative ventures between cultures.

The sociocultural, lifelong learning constructed in certain cultural circumstances has an effect on us and manifests as differences in cultural encounters between people and between cultural groups. The effects of enculturation in us become apparent in everyday matters, our habits of communication and interpretation. Communal and cultural influences have produced contextualised ways of acting, communicating and interpretating messages and meanings. Cultural communications are deeper and more complex than spoken or written messages. (Hall & Hall, 1990.) Cross-cultural communication researchers emphasise how human observations and interpretations are culturally bound and how differently the same social situations are interpreted and understood (Salo-Lee et al. 1998). The interpretations in interaction are connected to features of both linguistic and non-linguistic communication. According to Salo-Lee and others (1998) linguistic messages are connected to what is being said and how it is being said, whereas non-linguistic messages tell about the speaker and his/her expressions and gestures in the communication situation. Furthermore, every message contains so-called meta-messages about the articulated content and the interpretation of the speaker in the speech situation, in other words, how the messages must be interpreted. The meta-messages are often non-linguistic. The context and prior knowledge of the other party naturally affect interpretations. Thus non-linguistic communication is an essential part of the communication.

Non-linguistic communication and on meta-messages have different significance in different cultures. This can be a basis for comparison, or for making distinctions. According to Hall (1989; 1990; also Hall & Hall, 1990) cultures can be classified into word and information centred cultures (low-context) or human relations and context centred cultures (high-context). This creates one point of view to go through cultural differences in addition to time perspective, power distance, individualism – collectivism distinction or territoriality aspects (i.e. Hofstede, 2003). Hall (1989; 1990) points out that in a low-context culture the meaning of spoken and linguistic com-

munication (what is being said) is emphasised in human communication. Words are expected to mean very closely what is being said. Non-linguistic communication is not deemed as important, and it is not understood to sometimes contradict spoken words. According to Hall (1989; 1990) Anglo-American main stream culture, German, Swiss and Scandinavian cultures are typical low context cultures.

Instead, according to Hall (1989; 1990), in high-context cultures only part of the messages are expressed as linguistically. A great part of the messages are interpreted from the environment or the context, which means the person, his/her character, non-linguistic behaviour and other clues embedded in the interactional situation. In a speech situation listeners' non-linguistic reactions are scrutinized and the speaker's own speech is adapted accordingly. Hall thinks that several Asian, Arabian and Latino cultures represent high-context cultures. Salo-Lee et al. (1998) state that low-context communication is to be anticipated in individualistic cultures, while high-context communication is more common in collective cultures. In collective cultures group harmony and preserving others' faces is kept very important and this often assumes indirect communication. The meanings are presented non-linguistically and interpreted according to clues and contextual features. Salo-Lee and others (1998) also state that individual culture emphasises people's own opinions and presenting personal aspirations publicly. This often assumes direct, linguistic communication.

However, despite of these contextualized communication tendencies, examine generalization on the basis of cultural distinctions should be avoided. It may be better to move from othering to understanding (see Virkama in this volume). It is very probable that in all cultures there are several different features and when the globalisation and internationalisation trends gain strength, the cultures will be increasincly hybrid, taking influences from each other. For instance, individual members in a certain culture may differ from each other regarding the dimensions of high- and low-context described above, and may favour differing ways of communication. However, the sketching of cultural distances

at a general level helps to understand the different communication and interaction habits and how they may have developed as sociocultural learning in a certain culture, in a certain historical and societal situation and how they affect the members of the culture in question. When cross-cultural interaction grows rapidly, cultural understanding (and literacy) is needed. Berry (2002) points out that notions on cross- or intercultural should not concentrate only on diversity, but rather on uniformity. Thus, the central question for intercultural sensitivity is how to overcome cultural or national differences, and how to enhance shared intercultural understanding (see Banks, 2004; 2007).

Sociocultural learning and the changing cultural context

The sociocultural learning approach leans strongly on sociohistoric and psychocultural considerations when aiming at combining human cognitive action to those social structures where humans live and interact. The sociocultural learning approach defines the primary nature of culture so that the surrounding culture is the prime determinant of individual development and higher mental processes. The human environment and cultural surroundings are examined like a store of options from which developing individuals can appropriate tools for their use when interacting with others. (Wertsch et al., 1995; Cole, 1998.) Whereas theories of cognitive learning and development see humans as active investigators, sociocultural learning theory under-stands them as apprentices and participants in cultural practices (as novice members) who learn to use tools and equipment with more experienced persons (experts, supervisors, educators, experienced colleagues or others). They may also appropriate valuations and norms in their present community of practice. A central feature in this approach is the idea of sociogenesis, which means that all complex

higher mental phenomena occur first at social plane in relationships between individuals and only after these have been internalized to individuals' inner world. (Cole, 1998; Rogoff, 2003.) This is like an "internalization of cultural transmission" (Wertsch et al., 1995).

Traditionally the sociocultural approach has examined learning and development in the sphere of condensed community or culture, when culture means such groups and communities which share certain known characteristics, like communication and life styles (Salo-Lee et al. 1998; Berry, 2002). However, it is worth considering what learning and growth in a changing and culturally diversified environment means, what kinds of skills and competences are mediated in the changing world, or what kinds of competences are necessary in intercultural contexts. Cross- or intercultural refers to interaction between members or groups representing different cultural backgrounds. The term learning is understood as an acquisition of intercultural competence in recognising the relativity of cultural practices, values and beliefs, including the learner's own. This competence is in many cases called as *intercultural sensitivity[1]* (see Bennett,1993; 1998).

The sociocultural interpretation of lifelong learning emphasises the meaningfulness of learning of knowledge and skills (Rogoff, 2003): intercultural sensitivity is achieved only when it means something for humans. From this perspective the differences between generations or differences between people growing up in different kinds of environ-

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1. Intercultural sensitivity could be understood, on the one hand, as understandings and awareness of cultural diversity, but on the other hand, it is a personal or collective world view and dialogical competence of acceptance and overcome of cultural distances and barriers. For instance, Milton Bennett (1993; 1998) outlined a model of intercultural sensitivity development, which illustrates learning and transformation from ethnocentric valuations towards etnorelativism. This is a continuum where there is at first a very ethnocentric phase, a denial of difference. The existing differences are mainly repelled and are preferably interpreted through the familiar features of home culture. When valuations move towards etnorelativism, humans must gradually admit that the experienced cultural worldview is only one possible among the others. At best, humans start to appreciate the different values and points of views of the other cultures. This way it will be moved towards etnorelativistic stages which are, according to Bennett (1993; 1998), acceptance, adaptation and the integration of cultures.

ments (mono- or multicultural) become understandable. In addition, it is also essential that physical tools and thinking (material and intellectual) detach humans from the chains of biological or cultural restrictions. The tools created by humans (lever arm, agricultural tools, printing, information technology) have meant giant qualitative steps in the development of culture in general. These steps in history have been global. Cultural evolution is driven by human collective abilities and values. From the sociocultural perspective especially the role of human communication and language in cultural evolution is pivotal. Concepts are tools by which collective understanding and culture develop.

Lifelong learning in a multicultural world could be outlined through human agency, especially through social agency and its complexity in the today's word. The agency is mediated in several ways in a multicultural environment. Sociocultural learning occurs both in the circle of a person's own ethic and cultural group and in the circle of social relationships and meaning making networks between those groups. These social ties and meaning networks offer both support and challenges for identity and its re-construction in changing situations. The artifacts created (tools, theories, models etc.) function as a pillar for human action, but in a multicultural environment, artifacts are developed as a result of more diversified culture and under various influences. Long (2001, see also Teräs, 2007) theoretically embraced the central issues of cultural repertoires, heterogeneity and hybridity. These are useful concepts for widening the perspective of sociocultural learning and understanding it in a changing multicultural context. According to Long (2001, 51–52) *cultural repertoires* are the ways in which different cultural elements (e.g., values, discourses, and ritualized procedures) are used and recombined in social practices. *Heterogeneity* refers to multiple social forms within the same context. *Hybridity* involves mixed end products that are results of combinations of different cultural ingredients and repertoires. All these aspects

emerge in cross-cultural discourses and are signs of the diversity of the changing social and cultural world.

Cultural heterogeneity and hybridity especially have been on the agenda of cultural and social studies for several years now. Cultures have practised exchange of values, customs, or material goods for years without number. At the same time, cross-cultural contacts are changing those cultures. Cultural interfacing and "travelling ideas" between cultures are the key to understanding cultural evolution and this may be manifold: personal exchange via migration, globally mediated communication with ICT, exchange of artifacts, intellectual interchange of ideas, taking part in international associations and networks, policy agendas and idea borrowing and lending of those agendas, colonialism, imperialism, developmental aid, and mutual everyday-learning and understanding. (see Ipsen, 2004.) Thus, when thinking about cultural influences in sociocultural and lifelong learning it is noteworthy that cultures are under continuous change and evolution over time and this evolution is accelerated by present internalisation and globalisation trends.

Acculturation in cross-cultural encounters

When the point of view is moving from cultural learning to cross-cultural arenas or learning between cultural groups, the term used is acculturation. Acculturation is a process that individuals and groups undergo in relation to a changing cultural context. According to Berry (1992, 2007) acculturation is one form of cultural change due to contact with other cultures. Many factors usually affect cultural changes including widening contacts, diffusion from other cultures and innovation from within the cultural group. Berry (2007) defines acculturation as a dual process of cultural and psychological change

that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. Acculturation is a process that parallels many features of the process of socialisation (and enculturation). Because acculturation takes place after an individual's initial socialisation into the original birth culture, it may be viewed as a process of resocialisation, or secondary socialisation, during the life-course.

Acculturation can be perceived as a development process of cultural adaptation and integration in relation to the new multi-cultural environment (Berry, 2007). A person, who has not grown up in a multicultural environment or has not got the training for cultural understanding, is at the starting point of his/her conceptions. The focus is strongly on the person's own culture and ethnocentric values. (i.e. Bennett, 1993; 1998; Salo-Lee et al., 1998.) Instead, multi-cultural thinking, where cultural diversity is accepted and interaction between cultures is a starting point, can be considered as the other end of the continuum. For example, when the immigrant is integrating into his/her environment, he/she does not reject his own ethnic cultural background but accepts the social norms of the new environment and behaves primarily according to them.

Talib et al. (2004, p. 43; see also Berry, 1992; 2007) bring forth that *psychological acculturation* means long-term changes caused by immigration and encounters between diverse cultural groups. In addition to identity, values, social relations and others, there are also factors which are related to well-being, to the feelings of control over one's own life and to the level of personal satisfaction. The last mentioned are reflected in individuals' mental health and experiences of acculturation stress. *Sociocultural acculturation* in turn is seen as fluent social skills in the new culture and as the understanding and acceptance of diversity. Acculturation is always a two-way process, where culture changes humans, but on the other hand, culture is being shaped. According to Berry (1992) acculturation involves processes of culture shedding and culture learning. *Culture shedding* refers to the gradual process of losing some features (like values and attitudes) and

some behavioral competences (like language skills) of one's original culture. *Culture learning* refers to the process of acquisition of features of the new culture, sometimes as replacements for the attitudes and behaviours that have been receded, sometimes learned in addition. These two processes lead to wide variability in acculturation strategies and outcomes and these may create both problems and opportunities for individuals facing the new culture.

The main features in acculturation are so-called acculturation strategies (Berry, 1992; 2007). Not all groups or individuals undergo acculturation in the same way. In the research by Berry (1980; 1992) immigrants' acculturation strategies have been examined along two dimensions, attitudes and behaviours. It has been examined, regarding attitudes, if person's own ethnic identity and values are valuable and worth preserving. Regarding behaviours, the value of social relations and participation in the new society was assessed. (Berry, 1992; 2007.) The process of acculturation may have four different kinds of outcomes based on these evaluations: integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization. *Integration* means that immigrants want to maintain good contacts with majority and society, but they also respect and cherish their own ethnic cultural backgrounds and traditions. *Assimilation* means an adaptation to the life style and culture of dominant population where the origins of their own ethnic roots gradually disappear. *Separation* in turn means a much stronger orientation to an immigrant's own ethnic cultural roots and separation from dominant population and their cultural influences, while *marginalization* means separation from both, a person's ethnic roots and the majority dominant population influences. (Berry, 1992; 2007; also Lindh & Korhonen in this volume.)

ISSUE 1:
Maintenance of heritage culture and identity

ISSUE 2:
Relationships
sought
among
groups

INTEGRATION   ASSIMILATION

SEPARATION   MARGINALIZATION

MULTI
-CULTURALISM   MELTING
POT

SEGREGATION   EXCLUSION
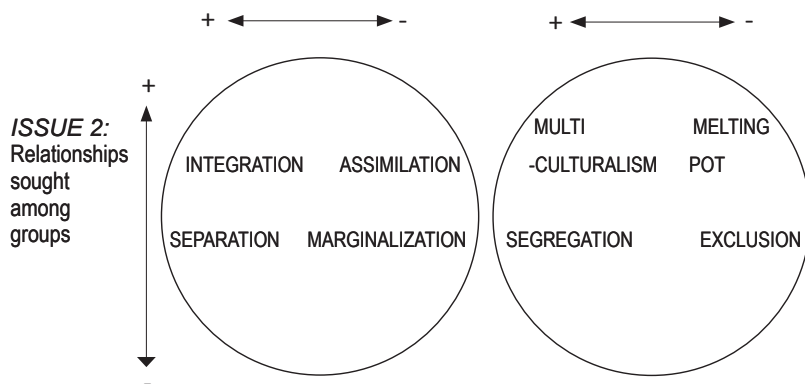
Fig. 3. Four acculturation strategies and the two layers of acculturation (prevailing strategies in ethnocultural groups or in the larger society) (Berry 2007, p. 550).

The situation in society naturally influences how social relationships between diverse cultural groups develop. Thus it is important to consider how a target country's political, economic and psychological atmosphere affects how the mainstream population usually reacts to immigrants and to cultural diversity in general, likewise the prospects for acculturation (Talib et al., 2004). Berry (2007, p. 549) states that there is the general orientation that a society has towards immigration and pluralism. Integration can only be "freely" chosen and successfully implemented by ethnic (or other marginal) groups when the mainstream society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. *Multiculturalism* (Fig. 3) refers to acceptance of cultural pluralism resulting from immigration and taking steps to support cultural diversity. Berry (ibid.) discusses how certain societies (like Australia, Canada, and the United States as "settler societies") have been developed by a deliberate immigration and settlement policy,

while other societies have received immigrants and refugees only reluctantly, usually without an intentional policy for immigrants and their settlement (like, for instance, Germany and the United Kingdom).

However, as Berry (ibid.) points out, that public attitudes among the mainstream dominant population and public policies do not always correspond or favour multiculturalism. For instance, there is decreasing consensus in Australia on how multicultural general policy should be implemented. It is challenged by raising public attitudes of more an assimilationist (melting pot) nature. In France and in Germany both citizens and governments have moved towards more assimilationist views on the acculturation of minority groups. Some societies seek actively to constrain diversity through policies and programmes embracing assimilation. Some societies even attempt to segregate or exclude diverse minority populations in their societies. Acculturation attitudes in the mainstream population are also connected to generations and their differing experiences and valuations. Lindh ja Korhonen (in this volume) discuss how earlier generations' world views can be seen to be based on traditions and local collectivity, while today young people represent different, more individualized generation which is actively creating different kinds of world views for themselves and taking influences from more globally disseminated popular cultures. Young people today will meet and communicate with other cultures throughout their lives, unlike the elderly people, who are just learning the attitudes and ways of action in the more multi- and intercultural environment. Thus, acculturation and the development of intercultural sensitivity in a certain context is one very complex phenomena.

Towards intercultural sensitivity and moral citizenship

Globalisation, internalisation and growing immigration have brought significant new challenges for citizenship, education and working life. In this introductory text the phenomenon is highlighted chiefly from two perspectives: the growing polymorphism of cultures and increasing cross-cultural encounters between cultural groups. Inside the culture polymorphism means cultural hybridization and escalating cultural evolution. Globalisation is accelerating mixture of the cultures when cultural influences travel between cultures (Uusitalo & Joutsenvirta, 2009). With the help of the sociocultural learning approach an attempt has been made to perceive lifelong learning within the sphere of a certain culture and community which takes place still more diversely and through more complex communities in the internationalising world. The change means a mixing and merging of cultures, the enlarging of social relationships and the flow of information (artefacts) at the more global level. Especially, the local dominant population meets the global challenges brought about by internationalisation and multiculturalism from this point of view.

Globalisation and increasing international mobility also increase migration, immigration, international studying and working. Part of the population also meet questions resulting from mobility and migration as personal changes and stories in their life-course (Seelye & Wasilewski, 1996). Part of the migration takes place due to the pursuit of personal choices and individual's options, and part takes place as a consequence of social crises, such as war and conflicts, in the historical time scale (Sampakoski in this volume). The challenges of change brought by migration have been outlined with the help of the acculturation theory. This means especially the interaction between cultures, the integration of the immigrants to the host society, and adaptation to the new culture without losing their own cultural roots. This interaction and change could be examined from the point of view of the immigrant and the mainstream population. For the present the dominant view in studies

has been the immigrants' point of view but the interpretation of different voices is needed, also those of the mainstream population (see Lindh & Korhonen in this volume). An interesting question might be the balance between intercultural sensitivity and ethnocentric nationalism in the values and valuations between the various countries (and cultures). More studies on the subject are naturally needed.

Acculturation approach illustrates cross-cultural encounter between people and groups where the question is about balance and the creation of mutual understanding. Maintaining the ethnic, gender or professional identity can be a challenging task in the immigration situation. In the learning between cultures and acculturation there are always two different sides and this necessitates adaptation by both and shared experiences (see Pietilä in this volume). In cross-cultural encounter and shared understanding dialogic competence is needed. Several overlapping concepts are often used when referring to this, like dialogic learning, cultural literacy, cultural intelligence or dialogic literacy. The main point is, if successful dialogue or shared understanding is not reached, the result is easily negative phenomena like discrimination, racism or marginalization of minority groups. These are not to the advantage of even the strange party.

Behind intercultural sensitivity and dialogical competences, a *moral citizenship* is needed. We could ask if the "the global village" could become a moral community which could take advantage of its moral strength and consideration of others (Smith, 2000). Moral citizenship in lifelong learning means the shared core values of *social justice*, *democracy*, *individual rights* and *mutual respect* in and between cultures. It is a movement designed to empower humans to become knowledgeable, caring and active citizens in a deeply troubled and ethnically polarized nation or world. (see Banks, 2004; 2007.) Intercultural sensitivity could be based on such moral citizenship principles, which could be present in different arenas of lifelong learning, like in voluntary work, education and work life and in the discourses of citizenship (or in citizenship/civic education). Concurrently education

is needed to sustain and develop democratic society (Dewey, 1966). Thus intercultural sensitivity and the moral citizenship principles behind it, are a real challenge for societies, for their education systems and for the curricula. Social justice and equality questions in moral citizenship are not easy to reach, even inside the same condensed culture and cultural group. If gendered or professional identities are more closely examined, even they may involve difficult taboos for members of a certain culture, and maintaining social inequalities and discrimination in national cultures. Citizenhip and, for instance, gender equality are grounded on sociohistorical power relations and hierarchies and value and ideology systems in societies, in other words, the prevailing moral order (see Chakraborty in this volume). Moral citizenship and intercultural thus sensitivity assume a very deep reflection of learning, identity and values in education and other areas of lifelong learning.

The articles of this book hopefully help readers to understand what intercultural sensitivity is, what kind of intercultural competences are connected to it and what might be the supporting societal moral order of moral citizenship in learning, education and in working life from lifelong learning perspective. From the intercultural sensitivity we can also think of our discourses about it. For example, Hannerz (2003) proposes that it is important to switch to realistically discuss multiculturalism instead of an idealistic discussion. Thus sociocultural learning and acculturation can be seen as a continuing, active and even conflicting reciprocal process. Instead of praising cultural pluralism or the inevitability of cultural conflicts the discussion on multiculturalism should concentrate on how to cope with cultural differences such as they are in the same way as mature people manage with their differences and tensions in their everyday lives (Hannerz 2003). This might be a fruitful goal in many cases. Intercultural sensitivity, and moral citizenship as a core value behind it, means sustainable and meaningful practices and co-operation for preserving well-being, caring and social justice in families, education, workplaces and other important fields of cross-cultural lifelong learning.

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Nature of 'Culture' and Cultural Learning in and between Cultures

<div align="right">**2**</div>

From Othering to Understanding: Perceiving 'Culture' in Intercultural Communication, Education and Learning

Anna Virkama

Abstract – This chapter investigates the concept of 'culture' in intercultural education and learning (IEL). Anthropologists have for decades argued for re-thinking of bounded categories such as ethnicity, culture and nationality. When nation states can be described as 'imagined communities', traditions, customs, values and belonging are frequently negotiated and re-negotiated. The paper discusses the challenges of teaching and learning about culture in the context of transnational mobility, cultural hybridity and super-diverse societies. While in theoretical discussions most authors recognize the difficulty of forcing the concept of culture into a solid, geographically bounded entity, practitioners – e.g. teachers, students and intercultural workers – have few methodological tools to apply these theories in practice. Without denying the importance of culture in contemporary societies, it argues for new methods in IEL which would respond to 21 century's needs in diverse societies.

Keywords: intercultural education, multicultural education, cultural learning, transnationalism, diversity

Introduction

In today's world intercultural competency is said to be crucial for all those who work in ethnically diverse contexts. In fact, intercultural training is a continuously growing field. However what is actually meant by 'culture' in the context of intercultural education and learning? In social sciences and cultural studies, recognition of highly complex cultural patterns in today's post-migration societies have urged scholars to think about culture in a non-essentialising, flexible and contextualised manner. In this paper I am asking how such concepts as 'culture' and 'ethnicity' are understood in the theoretical debates around intercultural education and learning, and how the practices of intercultural training are challenged by debates on culture in social sciences. Studies on transnational migration for example has brought into question the conventional way of thinking about immigrants' integration and raised the issue of double or multiple belonging as a serious alternative perspective to perceive national and cultural identities as geographically bounded. What are the theoretical and conceptual foundations of intercultural training, education and learning? Finally, I am suggesting that the theories and practices of intercultural education should be analysed in a wider context of socio-political discourses on immigration, ethnicity and multiculturalism.

Background of the theoretical debate

The theoretical debates around the problems of cultural differences contribute into what is understood as ethnicity and culture in the context of intercultural education. Current debates within the social science literature identifies two dominant and controversary approaches to culture: the *essentialist* and *non-essentialist* views of culture. Although it seems that the non-essentialist approach has become

more prominent among researchers, much of intercultural training is still based on essentialist the stance. I am here shortly presenting the both approaches.

The essentialist view sees cultures – national or smaller units – as containers of culture, each one separate from the other. Within this view, each culture is a set of characteristics that can be studied and used in order to communicate with the people 'belonging' to this culture. Cultures are seen as independently existing patterns: this can be seen for example in a way how people when they travel outside of their home countries say that they are "visiting other cultures". Hofstede (1997), namely, is one of the most cited upholders of this view. The essentialist view is challenged by the non-essentialist view, which pays attention to the constructed and contextualised nature of culture.

To illustrate how this approach is used in the classroom, I will provide an example based on my own experience as a trainer in intercultural work. In autumn 2008 I was invited to lecture about Islam for people who were in training to become intercultural trainers: health care workers, trade union people, and students among others. As I arrived early before my turn, I listened to a lecturer, whose turn was before me, giving a small exercise to the students. She had drawn on the blackboard a scale from 0 to 100 and the students had to situate different 'cultures' on the scale in relation to time, social hierarchies, gender roles and so forth. The aim of the scale was to show how Americans are more individualistic than Japanese, Russians have larger power hierarchies than Finns, and so on. I recognized this as an adaptation of Hofstede's (1997) scale. Come my turn, I realized, that what is expected from the lecturer in this kind of training situation is to offer some concrete models of how different cultures operate and how we could, based on those cultural 'facts', handle problematic situations which the educators may need to solve in their work. Yet, this viewpoint has numerous problems. First, there is a danger of overemphasizing the role of 'cultural' or 'religious' behavior in people's lives and forgetting that there might be other driving forces such as

economic, political or social motivations behind the acts which are justified by using cultural discourse. The second problem is that since we do not in everyday life, encounter 'cultures' as such but rather we are only able to observe limited cultural elements, adopted perhaps only by certain part of a specific population, there is a great risk of generalizing these elements as representing the totality.

The situation in the classroom may be just the current state of intercultural training in practice, but it also tells us about the uneasy confrontation of practitioners and researchers: the former are in need of very practical information about how to deal with cultural differences in their work and at the same time, the latter is reluctant to provide any concrete guidelines or tools. Culture, in this context, refers to shared meanings and values of a group of people, usually living in the same geographical area and speaking the same language. This definition, with some variations, is the most commonly used in literature dealing with intercultural education and learning (IEL in this text).

The theories of *intercultural communication* started to develop in the United States in 1970s for the purposes of international business training. Among the best known theorists of this interdisciplinary field there were names such as Edward T. Hall, Geert Hofstede and William B.Gudykunst. This functionalist, 'user friendly' approach saw cultures as separate entities and aimed to overcome difficulties involved in intercultural encounters. In this sense, intercultural communication is based on the idea that bigger the cultural differences are, the more difficult it is to overcome these problems. Therefore, there needs to be scientific methods to measure the cultural differences between cultures which can help to analyse the specific difficulties in intercultural encounters and offer a method that can be learned to solve those difficulties. For this purpose, different tools were used, such as diagrams of national characters, handbooks and models that aim to demonstrate how different cultures function. Nationality defines a person and her relationship to the others (of other nationalities)

a priori, but there are certain 'rules' that can be learned in order to facilitate the encounters and communicate despite the differences.

According to scholars of non-essentialist lines, it is not correct to talk about 'cultures' as entities, but rather of cultural elements and fragments which can manifest in different ways and take different meanings depending of the context. The non-essentialist view of culture that many anthropologists have adopted within the post-structuralist research agenda has made it difficult to reify the concept of culture for teaching and learning purposes. Hence, there is certainly a need to re-think IEL from the perspective that takes into account the danger of cultural stereotyping but at the same, is able to provide educators and learners with concrete tools for understanding how culture operates in complex, everyday life situations.

Theoretical debates these two approaches are clearly distinguishable, however in everyday life practices they occasionally mingle. Baumann (1996) for example, argues that minority groups can both be manipulated and they can manipulate the essentialist discourses on culture. Culture may be an operational term for scholars to discuss differences or similitude between certain groups, but it is as much used by the studied subjects themselves. However, the non-essentialist view seems to be more accurate in post-migration, hybrid societies. The increased migration and other type of more or less permanent mobility between nation states have multiplied the possible references for many people in today's world, thereby problematising the adoption of the nation state as a unit of reference for cultural identity. The essentialist view, still widely applied in intercultural education and training, is, as I argue in this paper, highly problematic. From the viewpoint of those scholars who have positioned themselves more within the non-essentialist perspective intercultural communication can be operationalised and learned like a game that requires knowledge of the rules and the right playing strategy (Illman, 2004, p.18). From this perspective, cultural diversity is only recognized as an obstacle

that has to be overcome, not as a value as such, as it has been argues by French scholar Abdallah-Pretceille (2003, p. 68).

The approach that sees cultures as cohesive entities is still widespread among practitioners, but it has been criticized by more hermeneutically oriented researchers, who argue for a more dynamic understanding of the concept of culture. People are not only passive products of their social and cultural environments, but they actively shape their worldview and give meanings to their experiences from their own perspective, creating a unique understanding of their own and others' cultures and of identity and difference (Illman, 2004, p.19).

In anthropology, there have been important attempts to re-think culture in light of global flows and modes of deterritorialization. Migration dynamics and impacts have been objects of anthropological studies already since 1930s, but the disciplines interest has shifted to ethnicity in post-migration societies in 1970s, and to migrant transnationalism in 1990s (Vertovec, 2007, p.964). Consequently, during the past decades there have been some important changes in ways of looking at culture and ethnicity, which are worth mentioning here. First, already in 1940s and 1950s the anthropologists working in south central Africa started to theoretically consider the profound socio- economic transformations in these societies and, among other things, the inter-linkages between spheres of political economy and modes of social relations implicated in migration processes. In 1970s and 1980s anthropological research was much concerned by questions of ethnic identities. Ethnographic studies were conducted in urban contexts in Europe and North America. It was during this period when the Barthian view (Barth, 1969) on ethnicity started to become a dominant stream of thinking, especially in the context of migration studies. Anthropologist Fredrik Barth did not consider ethnic identities to be universal, but negotiated and renegotiated in changing contexts. During this period, anthropology of migration started to interest in maintenance, construction and reproduction of ethnic identity among migrants. Finally, from 1990s onwards, transnationalism became one

of the fundamental ways of understanding contemporary migration processes. This transnational turn has provided illuminating ethnographic data and an appreciation of the dynamics of migrants' lives and interests across national contexts. Other emerging notions, such as hybridity, creolization and cosmopolitanism, have lead to anti-essentializing shift in anthropology since 1990s (Vertovec, 2007, pp. 961–966).

The problem is that the current theoretical approaches to culture and cultural differences are hard to reify for training purposes. People involved in intercultural education or work need a practical approach to culture related questions they face in concrete situations. For example, a study conducted by Pitkänen (2006, p. 110) indicates, Finnish authorities (health care workers, social workers, teachers, policemen etc.) said that they would need handbooks that present customs of different nationalities in order to facilitate intercultural encounters in their workplaces. However, in the theoretical discussions most scholars would reject that kind of 'handbook approach', because they would be based on representations and even stereotyping views of cultures. As noted by Vertovec, many anthropologists are reluctant to describe almost any characteristics of a group or category, for fear of being labeled as 'essentialist' (2007, p.965). It seems that there is a need to adjust intercultural learning theories and practices that would better match with the challenges of post-migration, super-diverse societies.

From Culturalist to Cultural:
Solid and Liquid Approaches to Culture

Intercultural education is based on two different principles. The first is the common principle of equality of all people and the right to be treated equally and second, on the second is idea of diversity and difference. There is always a dynamic relationship between the politics

of equality and difference, since the principle of equality calls for equal behavior towards everybody whereas the principle of difference calls on taking into account people's different needs and unique qualities. Intercultural education operates between these two principles and aims at justice -however difficult that might be (Kaikkonen, 2004, p. 137). Diversity in this case refers primarily to differences that are considered cultural. Gender and social class also construct differences and have been the objects of numerous studies, but only cultural difference is seen as important enough to deserve specific training programmes. What do we need to know about the cultural 'other' in order to successfully deal with him/her and what kind of intercultural competency is relevant in today's post-migration societies?

Intercultural communication, education and learning have been the focus of numerous studies in the fields of psychology, educational sciences, linguistics, economics and anthropology. A large number of studies, text books and guides have been published on the topic, not to mention a variety of institutions and individuals who provide training, teaching and coaching on intercultural competency. Therefore, this article does not aim to provide a complete, deep analysis of everything written on the topic, I am rather attempting to outline an overall picture of tendencies and preferences found in the research literature with regard to theoretical positioning and conceptual choices.

The term *intercultural* is used in this paper, even if in some texts the terms *cross-cultural*, *multicultural* and *transcultural* also appear. All of these terms refer to different discourses and are used in different ways in different contexts, sometimes overlapping. The competency needed in intercultural encounters has at times been defined as intercultural, sometimes as cross-cultural or multicultural competence/expertise/awareness. In Finland, Jokikokko has drawn attention to the variety of terms and came to the conclusion that the terminology in the field varies and depends on perspective and emphasis (Jokikokko, 2005, p. 90). Since this article focuses more on the problems of 'cultural' in general, I will not go very deeply into definitions of these

different approaches. Whether we are talking about multi-, cross- or intercultural education (learning/training/competence), one must define what is meant by 'cultural' and, in my view, take the concept of 'culture' into the center of the analysis. In short, this paper argues against culturalist and ethnologist approaches in intercultural education and proposes some alternative perspectives.

Most studies on intercultural competence and intercultural adjustment include a short introduction to the key concepts of the study, It should go without saying, that when discussing anything 'cultural', the concept of 'culture' should be taken into the center of the analyses. Dervin (2006, p.108) has found that the definition of culture as "shared habits, beliefs and values of a national group" is frequently used in the literature on intercultural education. Seen from this perspective, a learning situation is considered 'intercultural' if it involves people with different nationalities. The predominance of this kind of thinking is evident in the situations, in which the presence of different nationalities is seen as pre-condition of 'intercultural' or 'multicultural' for learning. Yet, the conceptualization of culture in this way is not necessarily the most accurate in today's super-diverse contexts.

One alternative and perhaps better adjusted to post-migration societies is, as Dervin (2006) proposes, to look at the definitions of culture based on Bauman's (2000) image of *liquidity* as a spirit of our times. Following Dervin's idea, the different approaches to culture could be divided into a *solid* and a *liquid* understanding of culture.

A *Solid* understanding of culture sees cultures as closed systems which determine a large part of an individual's actions. The solid approach pays little or no attention to internal diversity within a group considered 'cultural'. Within the solid understanding of culture, nation -states are often seen as 'containers' of culture. Thus, any situation becomes 'intercultural' by virtue of more than one nationality's presence. The *Liquid* approach that refers to Bauman's concept of 'liquid modernity' (2000) also takes into account Bhabha's (1990) concept

of cultural hybridity. *Liquidity* can be used a metaphor to describe the nature of culture in today's super-diverse world.

In Finland recent studies in the field of intercultural education discuss the 'liquid' nature of culture in today's world: e.g. Marianne Teräs on her study *Intercultural Learning and Hybridity in the Culture Laboratory* (2007) understands culture as "dynamic and hybrid as well as a socially and historically constructed phenomenon" which involves "intermingling of cultural practices, discourses, values, conceptions, and artifacts". She considers hybridity as constituting "part or even the core of a culture" (Teräs, 2007, p. 25). This approach has clearly moved a step further from the solid understanding of culture by recognizing the diversity within groups and perhaps referring to current forms of multiple identities and belonging such as transnationalism and hybridity, but still considers hybrids as combinations of solid cultures.

However, the more practically oriented the approach, the more ambivalent meanings the word 'culture' gets. In a publication of Finnish National Board of Education (Ikonen, 2005) on teaching of immigrant children, a chapter called 'Very different cultural background' ("hyvin erilainen kulttuuritausta") discusses the issues of illiteracy and the problems of motivation for studies (Perttula, 2005, p. 77). Therefore, as I read it, the chapter suggests that illiteracy is something that is related to culture, rather than socio-economic structures in the country of origin. Seen in this way the word 'culture' encloses all differences, including those that are caused by unequal distribution of wealth and resources. It seems that despite the attempts in theoretical literature on IEL to open up the concept of culture for less bounded and essentialising definitions, on the practical level there are more difficulties to distinguish cultural dimensions from linguistic, economical and social problems.

Intercultural Competence in Super-Diverse Society

As contacts with other nationalities become part of everyday life for many, either through international migration, travel or other types of mobility, there seems to be a common understanding that differences which are seen as cultural should be taken into account in different areas of everyday life. Through global media, we all become aware of diversity and we are forced to realise that our way of seeing the world is not the only possible one. This is what Appadurai (1996) calls 'the cultural dimension of globalization'. Depending on the situation, cultural diversity and the encounters with cultural differences, either real or imagined, can either be seen as a challenge or even a problem, or alternatively they can be considered as richness and a possibility.

In Finland, a few scholars have argued for a need of *intercultural competence*. It is seen as a key concept of intercultural education and learning and therefore deserves to be discussed in this context. "It can be claimed that everyone needs intercultural competence nowadays" argues Jokikokko and continues:"Even local communities are multicultural, and people are not restricted to one single environment, neither mentally or physically. People have different sub-cultural backgrounds; they may have contacts in other countries; they travel; and the media brings the world into their homes and lives even if they never went outside the borders of their native country".(Jokikokko, 2005, p. 90). Scholars argue for intercultural competency for educators, teachers (Soilamo, 2008, Pitkänen, 2006; 2005; Talib 1999; 2002; 2006), employees of public administration and authorities (Matinheikki-Kokko, Hammar-Suutari, 2006; Pitkänen, 2006), language learners (Dervin, 2006) and nurses as well as employees in multi-national companies and development co-operation workers (Räsänen, 2005). Intercultural awareness is seen as an important *cultural capital* that can help to navigate in the world of transforming labor markets (Talib, Löfström & Meri, 2004; Talib, 2006). Definitions and perspectives may vary from one researcher to other, but it seems that most scholars in the field of intercultural

education agree that fact that some kind of intercultural competency is needed in today's working life as well as an ability to function in today's societies in general.

What is actually meant by intercultural competences? In the most limited sense, intercultural competency can be reduced to mean knowledge of different customs and traditions and correct ways to behave in different national contexts, understood as 'target cultures'. Today, this kind of knowledge that focuses on general features of a foreign culture is seldom considered as intercultural competency (Pelkonen, 2005, p. 71). For Jokikokko (2005) intercultural competency is a combination of skills, attitudes, action and knowledge and awareness, but she also questions whether it should be considered as a philosophy and not only as a multidimensional ability to act in various situations.

Pelkonen (2005) argues for competency and sensitivity to support understanding, dialogue and the adaptation to one cultural context to another. According to Dervin (2006) the most often quoted definition of intercultural competency comes from Byram (1997, pp. 57-64) who defines intercultural competency in terms of *attitudes* (relativising self, valuing other), *knowledge* (of self and the other: of interaction: individual and societal) and *skills* (interpret and relate & discover and/or interact) to be worked upon by learners.

Despite the fact that most researchers seem to agree that intercultural competences are needed in today's world, some questions arise about how this competence could be acquired and whether it can be acquired at all. Kaikkonen (2004, p. 147) points out that intercultural competency has become a commercialized product and that the criticism towards teaching intercultural competency is justified when it refers merely to technical skills as demanded by many educators. He certainly makes an important point here. But one should also remember that in fact, the concept of teaching intercultural competency was *first* adopted by enterprises who train expatriates for international missions and has only in the late 1990s moved into the social field.

Dervin takes a critical position with regards to the idea of becoming interculturally competent through training. He argues that first of all, the learners are already interculturally competent from the beginning of their studies, since they are already used to "rapport/face management" in their own environment on daily bases. Second, he argues that all acts of communication are intercultural, even in intracultural contexts. The third argument concerns the nature of competence itself: it is not something that is "acquired" for good, since it is not a measurable, stable skill. Finally, he criticizes the theory of intercultural communication competence in LLT for the fact that it may generate ethical, psychological and intellectual problems since some of the learning takes place outside of the educational environment. Therefore, he suggests that individuals "develop" intercultural competence, instead of "becoming" interculturally competent. (Dervin, 2006, pp. 112-113.) The idea of becoming interculturally competent can also be queried from a hermeneutically oriented perspective, e.g. Nynäs (2001) argues against the predictability and rationality of intercultural encounters.

Emerging Perspectives and Strategies

There is no doubt that culture is an important element of any social organisation today. The way how cultures are perceived and discussed may have consequences in shaping peoples' lives and human relations. There is no need to remind how much harm negative stereotyping can cause to individuals who need to face them in their everyday lives. Traditionally, ethnography is based on the idea that cultures exist as systems that can be observed, interpreted and described. What is needed in intercultural education is a move away from an ethnographic, descriptive approach towards an anthropological, hermeneutic approach.

Let's think about a concrete situation in which a non-Muslim educator may feel perplexed by his/her Muslim student's behavior, if the latter refuses to eat pork offered at school referring to religious reasons, and demands to be served something else instead. Then, on another occasion, the teacher meets the same student drinking alcohol. Facing this kind of a contradictory situation is confusing for the educator, because it proves that people do not necessarily fit into given cultural frames, but the affiliations and meanings can be negotiated differently in different occasions. In other words, "every individual has the potential to express him/herself and act not only depending on their codes of membership, but also on freely chosen codes of reference" (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006, p. 478). Intercultural training based on a factual knowledge 'of different cultures' and technical skills do not prepare learners to meet the complex patterns in which culture is constructed in everyday life situations. In the worst case, this kind of intercultural education first produces the 'other' (or "cultural difference") and then tries to offer tools for dealing with this 'other'.

Postcolonial studies are concerned with the interconnectedness of knowledge and power. This is why it would be interesting to look at intercultural education as a process that constructs knowledge of cultures and of what we perceive as 'cultural diversity'. Perhaps the best known study on the field is Said's *Orientalism* (1978) that demonstrates how essentialising knowledge of the Orient was constructed in academic and popular discourses and how this knowledge was used to legitimize the colonial rule over 'Oriental' people. The concept of 'otherness' is also used in postcolonial studies in order to describe a person or the people who are considered as 'culturally different'. Seen from this angle, considering or describing someone or some people as 'culturally different' is not a neutral act, but it brings power hierarchies and processes of social distinction into play. This is important to keep in mind, particularly when discussing IEL in the context of immigration.

A solid, essentialising approach to culture is problematic from several viewpoints. First of all, it presupposes that cultures exist as natural units. Equating culture with nationality is also highly problematic in the era of emerging transnational lifestyles. Even if we agree on the fact that the cultures do not exist as natural units but as social constructions, it does not reduce the importance of culture. In this sense, the important question is not to find out what the characteristic of for example a Muslim are, but how and why "Muslimness" is emphasised in certain situations and why, in other situations, it is played down. More concretely, instead of just stating that 'Muslim women wear head scarfs' it would be more interesting to ponder why some Muslim women wear a scarf and others do not, and what is expressed with the wearing or non-wearing of the scarf. In this case, the wearing of a scarf takes different symbolic meanings if it happens in a context where it is forbidden (e.g. in French state schools) or if it happens in a context where it is considered as an obligation (e.g. while praying in the Mosque).

Within education research some scholars have taken seriously the need of new theoretical and methodological approaches when it comes to the transformation of post-modern societies. New, emerging social structures demand, as argued by Robertson and Dale (2008) knowledge that can help to understand the new ontology of the world order. Abdallah-Pretceille (2006; 2003) argues that the concept of culture is marked too much by a descriptive, objectifying and categorizing approach and is therefore no longer able to grasp the flexible and constantly changing nature of cultural forms. Hence, there is a risk that instead of providing the students with critical tools to analyse and contextualise differences that are called 'cultural', the students will, in fact, only learn about cultural stereotypes or even prejudices. Therefore she argues for a concept of *culturality,* which invites us to contextualise cultures in terms of social, political and communication -based realities. 'Culturality' refers to the fact that cultures are increasingly changing, fluent, striped and alveolate. Therefore, it is

the fragments and not the totality that one should learn to identify and analyse. (Abdallah-Preteceille, 2006, pp. 475-479.)

It seems necessary that trainers take into account silences and hidden attitudes which affect the ways of behaving; their own as well as their students. S/he needs to be able to objectify his/her own norms and references, because the more the audience is heterogenic the less these norms and references will be shared by the others (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2003, p.56). At a more practical level Dervin (2006, p.120) proposes *intercultural deconditioning* as a method of helping 'students to move away from stereotypical representations and "reach" a more diversified picture of the reality.

Conclusions

We have now looked at some ways of understanding culture within intercultural education and learning. It seems justified to argue, that 'solid' ways of perceiving culture and ethnicity does not easily fit into today's world, characterized by hybridity, super-diversity and transnational migration. If we agree on the fact that 'culture' is socially constructed and constantly negotiated in dynamic processes, we might want to ask, what we can really teach and learn about cultures in today's world? What kind of new perspectives and strategies should be adopted into the studies of IEL? Three suggestions arise from the readings analysed for this paper. First, there seems to be a need for studies that analyse the contents of intercultural training programmes. However intercultural training at the current state may include almost anything, depending on to whom it is addressed. There are numbers of institutions offering intercultural training, as well as publications dealing with the topic to respond different people's needs of learning to deal with what is perceived as 'culturally different'. Yet very little is know what is actually going on in the field, since intercultural train-

ing may encompass wide variety of practices. On the other hand, intercultural theories often lack critical analyses of how these theories themselves are products of global processes that promote inequality and hierarchical power relations, and how they, in turn, contribute to these processes of knowledge production and hierarchisation. For a further investigation, methods, theories and practices of intercultural education would make an interesting object of studies.

A second suggestion is to critically analyse the underlying theoretical and conceptual ideas on which IEL is based on. Can there be found, for example, some practices that reinforce cultural stereotypes instead of working against them? A real challenge is to integrate current theoretical discourses into operational classroom practices. Further analyses of the field would help to identify the pitfalls of IEL, but also to share and develop good practices.

A third suggestion concludes the other two. It is to critically analyse the ideological base of the intercultural education theories. Finland has become an immigration country relatively late compared with many Western European countries and it might even be an exaggeration to refer to an 'immigration wave' to Finland, however it is true that the membership in the European Union, globalised labor markets, increased student mobility and many other factors bring Finns into contact with other nationalities more than ever before. Finland has of course always ethnically diverse country (with minorities such as Sami, Roma, Tatars etc.), but the importance to learn about the diversity emerged with international immigration. From this background, it is easy to understand that the intercultural education in Finland is most often discussed in the context of immigration and the 'new' ethnic minorities. Immigration is a highly politicized issue and this should not be forgotten when discussing about IEL. Within higher education, intercultural training was introduced in the 1990s when Finland became a member state of the European Union, although it has been officially an aim since 1970s (Dervin, 2006, p. 109). Hence,

the IEL is needed in order to respond to political and demographic transformations, not to value diversity as such.

Despite the rationale that most European states need immigrants as labor force, highly skilled workers and tax payers, most anti-immigration discourses use cultural differences as an argument to explain why certain nationalities should kept out from Europe. This applies particularly to those who are considered most 'culturally distant' from Europeans, often referring to Arabs and Muslims. Yet the idea of cultural distance or closeness is highly contested in current scientific debates. Although most scholars working on IEL see cultural diversity rather as something enriching and positive and argue for tolerance, respect and peaceful cohabitation of people from different backgrounds, the risk is that it simultaneously underlies the 'cultural' aspect of differences that can, in reality, be due to many other reasons: economic, political etc. In short, when highlighting culture at the cost of other differences one risks to reinforce the racist idea that cultures are fundamentally different, people are prisoners of their own cultures and that the culture is the main reason for insunderstaning and problems in social enconters.

The other risk is that the discussions turn into an ideological battlefield, when the scientific validity of the theories becomes questionable. Intercultural education, as education in general, may suffer from the value-laden, normative presumption that it is automatically 'a good thing' (Robertson & Dale, 2008, p.7). Hence, the basic concepts of intercultural education, 'culture' and 'ethnicity' but also 'difference' and 'diversity', should be analysed in the light of postmodern challenges. Taking the concept of culture seriously as I argued in this paper is extremely important since the intercultural educators do not only transfer the knowledge of how to deal with 'culturally different' people but they may also contribute to the construction of difference. Following the idea of Adballah-Pretceille (2006, p.477) I see a danger in the cultural training that is based on knowledge of supposed cultural models. There, in fact, focus is rather on *cultural representations* than actual *cultures.* The challenge of intercultural

education today is in developing that kind of methods and tools for educators that are adaptive to today's hyper diverse societies where growing number of people no longer identify themselves with only one national culture.

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3

Intercultural adaptation as a shared learning process in the life-course

Irja Pietilä

Abstract – Workplaces and societies all over the world are becoming more and more culturally diverse. Many people are regularly in their life-course in contact with someone who has a different cultural background and they are facing new challenges in their everyday communication. To better cope with the situation one needs a deeper understanding of the processes of intercultural adaptation, intercultural communication and intercultural learning. Dialectical adaptation models see adaptation as a two-way process where interactions change both parties. In intercultural communication situations cultural, sociocultural, psychocultural and environmental factors exert influences. They influence what is learned from the information, how the communication situation is interpreted, and what kinds of evaluations are made. Intercultural interactions are a crucial part of intercultural learning and understanding. New dialogical competencies are needed. A situated learning model in intercultural adaptation gives opportunities to practise them and increase their understanding of the meanings. Through shared experiences people can increase cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity and feel comfortable in multicultural contexts. The present article gives an overview of the theoretical concepts in intercultural adaptation and learning.

Keywords: intercultural communication, cross-cultural awareness, intercultural adaptation, intercultural learning, experiential learning, situated learning

Introduction

In today's world people from different cultures migrate to or sojourn in different cultures to work, study and live during their life-time. For example, students all over the world are participating in various exchange programmes and they have to adapt to a new cultural environment. It is important to know what kind of challenges they face and how they learn new cultural practices.

Culture is often considered the core concept in intercultural communication and adaptation. Culture is a very complex concept and it has been defined in many ways. Keesing's (1974) definition of culture is communicative. It emphasizes that culture provides us with a system of knowledge that allows us to know how to communicate with others and how to interpret others' behaviour. Members of the culture do not share all aspects of their culture, but they share the "broad design" and sufficient "deeper principles" so that they can communicate with each other with relative ease.

Jensen (2005, pp. 1-2) talks about the 'complex concept of culture' in the field of intercultural communication. She illustrates the 'complex concept of culture' with the following statements:

- Culture is common knowledge and meaning shared with others
- Culture is something we do
- Culture is constantly being recreated over and over again and it is constructed between people
- A culture cannot be seen as being homogeneous, but must be seen as being divided up into different spaces, each of which contain different values and meanings.
- Each individual can participate in many different social categories and should therefore not only be portrayed as a national category, but also in categories such as gender, education, social background, age etc.

Chen and Starosta (1998, pp. 26-27) talk about four basic characteristics of culture. Culture is holistic, learned, dynamic and pervasive. First, as a holistic system, culture can be broken down into several subsystems (education, religion etc.), but the various aspects of culture are closely interrelated. Any change in a subsystem will affect the whole system. Second, culture is learned consciously and unconsciously in early life through the process of socialization and enculturation. Third, culture is dynamic. Cultures are constantly changing over time and one of the reasons is cultural contact, and finally, culture is pervasive and spreads to every aspect of our lives and influences the way we think, the way we talk and the way we behave.

Hofstede (1997, p. 201) notes that when people work in multicultural environments they have to change their own behavioural practices to which they were socialised and interpersonal relationships have to be renegotiated. People face new challenges in their everyday communication and they have to learn new ways of communicating. Berger (2001, pp. xi-xii) calls the challenge facing all of us pluralism, meaning that people with very different beliefs, values and lifestyles are forced to interact with each other, and therefore either run into conflict or somehow accommodate each other's differences. Hence, people have to become aware of those differences and eventually start to accept and respect them.

Intercultural communication subsumes many different factors which influence in intercultural interactions. Gudykunst (1997), Jensen (2003), while many other scholars have identified "filters" which communicators bring to the communication situation. In a new cultural environment those "filters" are most probably different and may cause misunderstandings and delay the adaptation process. Many researchers (e.g. Bennett, 1986; Bennett, 1993; Paige, 1993; Hanvey, 2004) claim, however, that a very important factor predicting adaptation to a new culture is how much one participates in communication in a new cultural milieu. Intercultural interaction increases opportunities for intercultural learning and understanding.

The process of adaptation can be seen from different viewpoints. There is a long tradition of perceiving adaptation as a problematic process. Some scholars, on the other hand, see it mainly as a learning process. When scholars emphasise the learning perspective of adaptation, they also stress shared responsibility. In intercultural communication situations all communicators affect each other and most probably all of them have to adapt to some extent.

The present article gives a theoretical overview of the concepts of the intercultural adaptation process. The structure of this article is as follows. The first section gives an introduction to the topic and definitions of culture. The second section will provide a brief overview of the models of adapting to a new culture. The third section will discuss about the factors affecting an intercultural communication situation. The fourth section explains the domains of intercultural learning, introduces the sociocultural model of learning and models of enhancing intercultural awareness and sensitivity.

Intercultural Adaptation

Intercultural adaptation is a long-term process, which varies with each individual. Kim (1989) defines intercultural adaptation as a process to increase the level of fitness to meet the demands of the new cultural environment. According to Martin and Nakayama (2000) most scholars agree that cultural adaptation is similar to the other transition processes in life (e.g., new job, new place to live, studies in a big city). Cultural adaptation has traditionally (Furnham and Bohner 1986; Ellingsworth 1988; Kim 1989) been seen as a responsibility of a newcomer. Dialectical models (e.g. Anderson, 1994), on the other hand, see adaptation as a two-way process, where interaction is seen as involving mutual adaptation. Kim (2001) notes that the process of adapting to a new cultural context can produce a feeling of loss

of cultural identity for some people and stimulate personal growth for others. Turner, Hogg, Oakes and Reicher (1987) also note that individuals have a multiplicity of personal and social identities that are not fixed or static but dynamic, fluid and situation specific.

Over the years the main emphasis has been the problematic nature of cross-cultural adaptation. Kim (2001, pp. 17-19) states that this problem-based view of cross-cultural adaptation is most apparent in studies of culture shock. Many scholars (e.g. Lysgaard 1955; Oberg 1960; Adler, 1981; Kim, 1989; 1991) have identified stages in the intercultural adaptation process. The most popular developmental models of intercultural adaptation are U curve and W curve models. The process in the U curve model contains high affect in the beginning, followed by a drop in satisfaction, ending with recovery. The stages of intercultural adaptation have many different names, such as honeymoon, crisis, adjustment, and bicultural periods (Kim, 2001). Peter Adler (1975) names transitional phases like contact, disintegration, reintegration, autonomy and independence. The W curve model also explains the stress of returning home. When people return their home countries they may face a similar process of adaptation to their own cultures (Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963).

In sharp contrast to culture-shock models is the work of researchers who emphasise the learning and growth-facilitating nature of the adaptation process (Kim 2001, 17-19). The dialectical model of intercultural adaptation (Anderson 1994) argues that intercultural adaptation is a cyclical and recursive process in which people try to solve problems and overcome obstacles embedded in the interaction with the host culture. How a person responds in the intercultural adaptation process, creates his or her own adjustment patterns. Adapting to a new culture can lead to fundamental change which may feel like "rebirth" (Anderson, 1994). The dialectical model of intercultural adaptation is composed of six principles:

1) Intercultural adaptation is motivated, goal-oriented process in which sojourners learn to accommodate to the new culture.
2) Intercultural adaptation and learning processes are reciprocal and interdependent.
3) Intercultural adaptation implies a stranger-host relationship, where thinking and behavioural patterns have to be modified to fit the frame of reference of the host culture.
4) Intercultural adaptation is a cyclical, continuous, and interactive process, where the new culture influences and changes the person, but at the same time the person influences and changes the environment.
5) Intercultural adaptation is an ongoing process.
6) Intercultural adaptation implies personal development.

The dialectical model describes about two-way learning processes. Both parties are involved and both parties will adapt. The trend in cross-cultural adaptation discourse has been toward an increasing pluralism, emphasizing the importance of ethnicity maintenance (Kim, 2001; Berger, 2001). Maintaining the ethnic, gender or professional identities can be a challenging task. For example, Woods (2004, p. 216) talks about women in Canada who maintained strong ties with their home country but in developing their professional or Canadian identities, they did not feel fitting as easily in their home countries. Woods (2004, p. 219) also notes that the complexity of social identifications and identities shift and change over time and place. Ethier and Deaux (1994, in Woods 2004) note that in a year students developed new supports for their ethnic identity in the university environment.

Intercultural Communication

By intercultural communication Hall (1959) refers to the interaction between or among individuals with differing cultural backgrounds. Hall also defines "culture as communication", which implies that culture is the creation of meaning. Many scholars emphasize that communication is at the heart of intercultural adaptation process. When we are communicating with someone from another culture our behavioural practices affect each other.

Gudykunst and Kim (1997, pp. 35-47) define intercultural communication as "the interaction of meanings being differently generated". They talk about "conceptual filters" which people have to be aware of because "without understanding the other person's filters, we cannot accurately interpret or predict his or her behaviour". They present the intercultural communication model (Fig. 1) with four "conceptual filters". The encoding and decoding of communication messages is an interactive process influenced by cultural, sociocultural, psychocultural, and environmental factors. In the model circles are drawn with broken lines to indicate that the elements affect, and are affected by, the other elements. Communication between people takes place in a social environment that includes other people who themselves engage in communication, and these environmental factors influence the communication interaction.
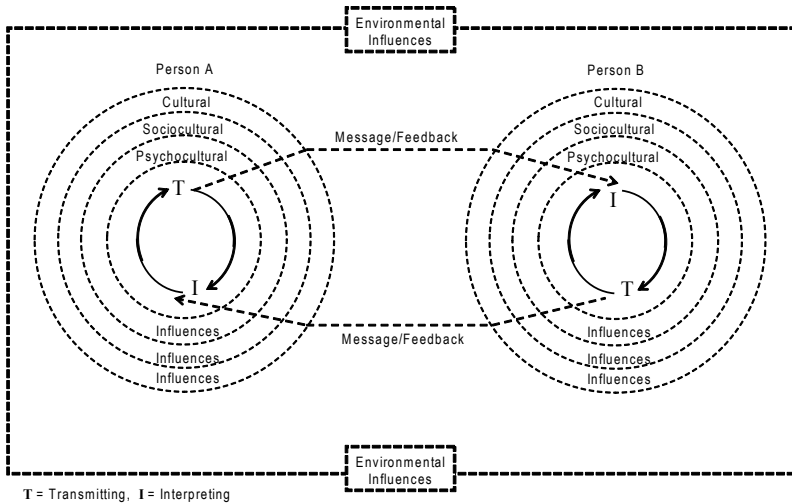
Figure 1. An organizing model for studying communication with strangers (Gudykunst & Kim 1997, 45)

Jensen (2003) notes that the intercultural communication model by Gudykunst and Kim (1997) is a very important step towards describing the intercultural communication process as a dialogical process because communicators are simultaneously both senders and receivers of messages. Another model which emphasizes the dialogical process of intercultural communication is Yoshikawa's (1987) double-swing model of intercultural communication (Fig. 2). In the double-swing model communication is seen as an infinite process and the two partici-pants will both change in the interaction. The model emphasises the duality between 'you and I' in a communication situation meaning that two realities are "complementary and constantly in interaction"

Figure 2. The Double-Swing Model (Yoshikawa 1987)

Yoshikawa (1987) underlines that the goal of communication is not to eliminate differences, but to use the dynamics that arise through the interaction. According to Jensen (2003, pp. 4–5) the model seeks to a) give a description of an intercultural communication process between two actors, who are both senders and addressees, b) to emphasize the inter-connectedness between the participants in the communication process, and c) to show that the communication process is an infinite, ongoing process.

Chen and Starosta (1998, pp. 28–29) explain Guan's theory of intercultural communication. In the theory there are three potential forms of intercultural communication, depending on the interactants' intentions: self-centred dialogue, dominant dialogue or equal dialogue. The **self-centred dialogue** takes the form of ethnocentrism. In this kind of intercultural communication A and B use their own cultural standards to assess and interact with each other, and they both lack cultural understanding. In **dominant dialogue**, A is well aware of B's cultural traits and differences, and uses this advantage to control B to achieve personal goals. **Equal dialogue** between A and B represents an ideal form of intercultural communication. Chen (2008, p. 2) continues that intercultural communication requires individuals to develop a harmonious relationship between communicators in a continuously transforming process of mutual dependency. Such intercultural communication is based on mutual understanding of cultural similarities and differences. Both parties make sincere and empathetic efforts to overcome their differences on an equal basis.

In intercultural communication situations there are many possibilities for misunderstandings and erroneous conclusions. When

people decode the messages, interpretation depends on what the other person communicates verbally and nonverbally. The context in which the message is received likewise plays an important role. Through perception people receive and select the information they think they need. Through the interpretation process people assign meanings and explanations for the other's behaviour.

Attribution theory (Heider, 1958) assumes that people try to determine why someone acts as they do. Heider notes that all behaviour is determined by either internal (factor within the person) or external factors (beyond one's own control), and evaluation of the behaviour is based on those attributions. What kinds of attributions one uses determines the direction of future behaviour. For example, if a person interprets the behaviour of the partner as desirable, s/he will evaluate it more favourably than if s/he thinks it is due to the internal factors than if attributing it to external factors. If the behaviour is not desirable, the evaluations are more negative if one attributes it to internal factors than to external factors. When people attribute the behaviour of another person, it affects the way they evaluate the situation and act in subsequent interactions.

Intercultural Learning

When people meet and interact with each other the intercultural learning process begins. Paige (1993) defines intercultural learning as a dynamic, developmental, and ongoing process involved in communicating and interacting effectively with individuals from other cultural backgrounds and in culturally diverse settings. Scholars (e.g. Adler, 1975; 1977; Paige, 1993; Hanvey, 2004) have focused on either cognitive aspects of the adaptation process – various learning outcomes of adaptation, like self-awareness and cultural awareness, or on behavioural processes – how the migrant's interaction with the

environment influences adaptation (e. g. Furnham and Bohner 1986; Woods, 2004). Paige (1993, pp.1–3) points out that the intercultural learning process entails cognitive, behavioural, and affective domains of learning, and includes "highly personalized behavioural and affective learning, self-reflection, and direct experience with cultural difference". Hence, intercultural communication experiences play a decisive role in the intercultural learning and adaptation process.

Learning and adaptation is not a one-way process but a shared learning process. The problem of dialogue between different cultural groups becomes critical. In the social constructionist theory of Berger and Luckman (1966) the relationship between individuals and society (culture) is viewed as dialectical, where each person is dependent on the other and both parties learn. Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural learning model claims that learning and development take place in socially and culturally shaped contexts. John-Steiner and Mahn (2009, pp. 2–7) continue that in sociocultural learning theory the development is seen as the transformation of socially shared activities into internalised processes.

The mutual learning model by Argyris and Schön (1978) is based on cooperation and respect. People involved in a communication situation want to know what the other person thinks because they believe that they can achieve a better outcome if they work together and learn from each other. The mutual learning model raises an individual's sense of satisfaction. Kofman (2003) says that when people apply the mutual learning model, the prevailing principles are curiosity, transparency and joint accountability. In a mutual learning process both parties accept that the other's views may be as valid as their own and can help to solve the problem. Every problem or error is an opportunity to learn. The mutual learning process has consequences for both behaviour and learning. People can behave without fear, interpersonal relationships become more facilitative, and people feel free to explore and search for new information and new alternatives. The relationships are based on integrity, commitment and dignity.

Such an approach is needed in the intercultural communication situation. Through intercultural interactions we can analyse our behaviour and at the same time understand the other person better. Experiences can widen our perspectives of the world, and create a culture of openness.

Learning takes place effectively when people act in the real world. Dewey (1938) pointed out that experiences cannot automatically be equated with learning. Experience may distort educational growth if the process lacks continuity and interaction. For example, prejudices and stereotypes are the results of experiences which have been mis-interpreted. Hanvey (2004, p. 8), in his essay "An Attainable Global Perspective", also points out that contact between societies does not lead to understanding if people see the other partner's behaviour through their own cultural lenses.

Knowledge and practice tend to work together (Samovar and Porter, 2000, p. 372). Personal contact and experience are the most desirable methods for intercultural learning. Experiential learning theories (Dewey, 1938; Kolb and Fry, 1975; Kolb 1984) are connected to the constructionist learning approach, which proposes that learning is an active process where learners actively construct mental models and theories of the world around them. According to Kolb (1984), experiential learning focuses on the individuals' learning process, relates to the meaning making process of the experience, and emphasises that knowledge is gained through experiences.

Lave and Wenger (1991) talk about the situated learning theory which draws on Vygotsky's activity theory of social cognition for a conception of social knowledge that conceives learning as a transaction between the person and the social environment. Situations are embedded in communities of practice that have history, norms, tools and traditions of practice. Learning is thus a process of becoming a member of a community of practice through legitimate peripherical participation (e.g. Erasmus Mundus students in foreign countries). Situated learning enriches the learning space concept by stressing

that learning extends beyond institutional formal settings. When people do not know how to act, they depend on others with more experience and over time, take on increasing responsibility for their own learning and participation in joint activities. For example, children become skilled practitioners in the specific cognitive activities in their community by observing, participating and repeating the experiences. Learners participate in a wide variety of joint activities which provide the opportunity for synthesising the influences into the learner's new modes of understanding and participation. (Lave and Wenger, 1991.)

Many models (e.g. Bennett, 1986; Hanvey, 2004) have illustrated the different stages in increasing intercultural awareness and understanding. Bennett (1993, p. 116) notes that even if these developmental models were originally not all connected to adaptation they can be used to account for some of the processes. Hanvey's and Bennett's models below emphasise intercultural contact as a leading factor in intercultural understanding and adaptation.

Hanvey's (2004) model of cross-cultural awareness proposes four levels of cross-cultural awareness. On the first level a person is aware of superficial and very obvious cultural traits. This kind of awareness is gained, for example, through tourist trips or from textbooks. Intercultural interactions are very limited on that level. The interpretation of the different behaviour is, for example, implausible, exotic, strange, interesting or bizarre. On the second level people become aware of both significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with their own cultural practices. Such cross-cultural awareness is gained in culture conflict situations which are interpreted as unbelievable, frustrating or irrational. On level three people are aware of significant and subtle cultural traits, but they accept these intellectually – analysing them in a wider frame of reference. It is believable and makes sense to them. On the fourth level people become aware of how another culture feels from the standpoint of an insider. This is plausible because of subjective familiarity – living the culture. (Hanvey, 2004.)

Bennett's (1986) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity shows the developmental process in which people transform themselves from an ethnocentric state to an ethnorelative state. The process includes six stages:

1) Denial: People deny the existence of cultural differences
2) Defence: People attempt to protect their own worldview to counter the perceived threat of cultural difference
3) Minimization: People attempt to protect the core of their own worldview by concealing differences in the shadow of cultural similarities
4) Acceptance: People begin to accept the existence of behavioural differences and underlying cultural differences
5) Adaptation: People become emphatic toward cultural differences and become bicultural or multicultural, and
6) Integration: People apply ethnorelativism to their own identity and can experience difference as an essential and joyful aspect of all life.

These two models serve as examples of the cognitive and behavioural domains of learning. Martin and Nakayama (2000, p. 317) also ask what kinds of things people have to know and what kind of behaviour they should use to become the most competent communicators. They emphasise the importance of an affective domain of learning by asking what kinds of attitudes people should have, and what kind of motivation people need to have to be good intercultural communicators. Many studies (e.g., Martin and Hammer, 1989; Spitzberg and Cubach, 1989; Chen and Starosta, 1996) have produced lists of basic components of intercultural communication competence, such as having respect for others. Motivation seems to be the force that moves people to reach the goal of intercultural adaptation. Without motivation, the process of intercultural adaptation will impede the ability to act in an appropriate way (Kim 2001, pp. 17–18).

Conclusions

Many people all over the world are going through the process of adapting to new circumstances and facing new challenges because of their work or studies. The main purpose of this article has been to talk about the concepts of intercultural adaptation and learning. The main goal has been to emphasise the sociocultural learning model as a suitable learning model in the adaptation process.

Adapting to a new culture is a complex and dynamic process. Very often people assume that it is the newcomer's responsibility to adapt. However, in many studies it has been proved that the intercultural adaptation and learning process is most effective when both parties are involved. The intercultural learning process includes cognitive, behavioural and affective domains of learning. Researchers claim that even if we understand the concepts of intercultural communication we have to put theories into practice because intercultural interactions are a crucial part of the intercultural learning process. The situated learning theory in particular could provide a new perspective on intercultural adaptation, learning and understanding. When learners participate in joint activities they have opportunities to use many ways of learning strategies and create new modes of understanding and participation. Through interaction people can enhance new options for intercultural learning and adaptation.

However, the process of adapting to a new culture requires "learners" to become emotionally flexible in responding to the challenges and frustrations of cultural adaptation (Paige 1993, p. 1). Matsumoto et al. (2006) report both positive and negative adaptation outcomes. On the one hand the positive consequences include gains in language competence, self-confidence, positive mood, interpersonal relationships and stress reduction. On the other hand, the negative consequences include psychological and psychosomatic concern, like depression, anxiety, impaired school and work performance, and difficulties in human relationships.

To achieve positive outcomes people should use dialogical communication strategies in intercultural communication situations. Equal dialogue allows participants to create new meanings together and reach mutual understanding. In dialogue meaning is actually discovered between individuals rather than owned by each individual. Dialogical communication expands individual viewpoints and develops a sense of working together towards a new and wider understanding. If people would achieve multiple perspectives on the world around them, the intercultural adaptation would become a rich learning experience. It would be important for the investigations of the intercultural adaptation processes to continue and increase the interest in studies from the sociocultural learning perspective and to see intercultural adaptation as a situated, real-life learning experience. Hence, application of intercultural adaptation theories to real-life settings is critical in theory development and seeing the process of intercultural adaptation as shared learning process.

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Moving lives: Karelian immigrants narrating their memories

Tiina Sampakoski

Abstract – Migration is always a personally significant experience in life course, whether occurring inside or outside country borders. In my study I describe the lives of Karelians, who had to leave their homes from South-East Finland during World War II. With the help of biographies and narratives, I conducted research about the Karelians and their ways of surviving the wartime and their life after the war in Finland. Karelia belonged to the part of Finland which was occupied in 1939-1944 in the war between Finland and Russia. Karelians belonged to the Finnish nation but were evacuated during the winter war from South-East to other parts of Finland. The basis for the study is the idea of the authentic stories of those Karelians who experienced the wartime and the evacuation elsewhere in Finland. The primary material of this study includes ten biographies based on personal interviews of ten refugees aged between 70 to 80. All of the persons interviewed come from the Southbothnic area (Etelä-Pohjanmaa) or from Satakunta. Each of the persons interviewed were selected for the study through a so called key-person and on the grounds of their own interest and willingness. In this article I will specially concentrate on their stories where they remember home back in Karelia and their surviving stories.

Keywords: biography, narratives, Karelians, evacuation, surviving, migration, life course

The background for the migration in Finland

This study is about the Karelians who were forced to leave their homes in World War II. In 1939 -1941 Karelians had to leave their homes, as a result of the Russian invasion in Finland. It was winter war between Russia and Finland, and those Karelians were living near the border with Russia in East-Finland. When the war broke out all the people living by the border were evacuated to other parts of Finland (West of Finland). These people belonged to Karelia and were called Karelians. What makes the situation differ from other people who immigrated in Finland is that these Karelians were Finnish people, even though they were linguistically and ethnically their own group of people having their own culture and way of speaking. They felt that they were Finnish and assimilated with the closely related Finnish people. In that time Finland was very much of an agricultural country.

When the first invasion happened in 1939, the winter war began in November and everything happened very quickly. The Government had been giving an order that people near the border should leave their homes as soon as possible by railways. It was the time of World War II and it all happened following the unsuccessful negotiations on Russians territorial demands. Karelians did not think that they would leave their homes for good. They thought that after leaving they would come back to their homes and continue living their lives. This is also what they were told. The emergency Settlement Act (pika-asutuslaki) was enacted in July 1940, to settle the refugees in other parts of the country.

By the time the peace treaty ending the winter war in March 1940 happened, Finland ceded about 10 percent of its territory to Russia. All the people believed that the war was over. Karelians were eager to get back to their homes at once. On June 1941 Finland joined Germany's attack on Russia. By the end of August the Finnish parliament declared that the ceded areas were reunited to Finland

again, after the Finnish army had had a change to get back part of Karelia in the battle.

About two thirds of the Karelians returned to their homes and saw the destruction. Most of the homes were in very bad condition or completely destroyed. Because of their hard will and eagerness to feel that they were settled home again, they started to rebuild their homes and plant wheat and vegetables in their fields. In spite of all, it was wasted time, because unfortunately in the summer 1944 the Red Army pushed the Finnish troops back the same line of defence they had held at the end of the winter war. All the Karelians were evacuated and forced to leave their homes in Karelia again. Some of Karelians stayed there as long as they could, but the Paris peace treaty with the Allied forces in 1947 restored the borders of the 1940 peace treaty with some additional areas ceded to Russia. In the end, Finland lost Karelia to Russia and the rest of the Karelians had to settle in other parts of Finland.

Refugees from each Karelian village were settled in to designate targeted municipality. The availability of suitable land was affected to the number of refugees each municipality could replace. That depended on the pre-war farm size distribution and the quantity of the state-owned land. The most important fact in it was that the Karelians were allocated by the location of their municipality back in Karelia. Those Karelians who were evacuated from Western parts of Karelia were settled along the southern coast and those refugees from eastern part of Karelia were settled north from the southern coast and most of the northern Karelians were settled even further north of Finland. Karelians, who were from the municipalities around Viaborg, the largest city in Karelia, were settled close to the capital of Finland, Helsinki. It was planned so that all the Karelians from the same villages were settled to the same municipality and all the people from neighbouring villages were supposed to be settled close to each other.

This group of people had always been called Karelians but in this study I will also refer to them as migrated people or refugees. Their stories and narratives belong to a part of Finnish history, which is very little investigated or is almost completely missing from academic research. Thou I found many written life time stories or biographies, the studies about this subject were very rare.

Methodology

I used biographies and narratives in this study. In this way I could let the voices of migrants be heard. In history books, you do not often hear the voice of the minority. History is mostly written by the winners. In biographies and life stories you can feel history in another way. The stories are authentic and when you hear those narratives you can feel how the history is living in them and through them. Narratives give you a small clue of history which can make you realize something very new about it.

Internationally this method is called oral history. It is said to be information which is not written. It exists only in the memories of those people who have experienced it. Confidentiality is inspired if it is possible to find out much same kind of stories about the happening in history. Peltonen (2002) describes this kind of knowledge as very rare and individual but says that it is influenced by collective memory. In collective memory these stories are told through the centuries and they stay alive in peoples' minds. It is possible that these stories are also affecting to narratives.

Fingerroos and Peltonen (2006, pp. 9-10) do not describe the oral history only as memory knowledge. They pronounce that in Finland this oral history means also written knowledge; for example written biographies. In other words it means that memories can be both the source and the target in research, as well as implementation

or a plot. This kind of "second knowledge" (Hänninen, Karjalainen & Lahti, 2005, pp. 3-5) is very personnel knowledge. It is also very specific and surprising information about the history, as well as exposed history. Hänninen also calls this kind of knowledge silent information, which can be very difficult to analyse, but which influences peoples' manners and their ways of living. This kind of knowledge is questioning the written history and gives space for the forgotten and replaced impressions.

Narratives and biographies

Polish Florian Znanieck, with William Thomas, (1918-1920) has become famous from his study of Polish immigrants who immigrated to America. He has pronounced that in life term research it is not important to address the geographical or economical approach. Instead you should be able to concentrate on individuals and to their subjective stories. These kind of subjective stories are full of feelings, ideas and lifestyles of a person you ought to know more about when conducting research about history. In his study of Polish Peasant he used biographies and diaries of the immigrants. He found out how significant it is to study the subjective side through their stories. (Znanieck & Thomas, 1918; Antikainen, 1987) Through the narratives, you can find out how people are growing. Arendt (1987) calls this kind of study a life term research. It can show you the history of a person's life time. You can see the growth from childhood to elderly years of life. In such a research it is possible to study ones life from the side of significant happenings; such as birth, marriage, motherhood, fatherhood and retirement. Even more than that could be schooling, getting a job, moving to other place and so on. In all of these significant changes in life-course, it is possible to see the influence of the history and the influence of social relations as well as environmental replacement.

Life term study has become to be more and more a biographical study of one's life. Hence, it used to be famous among persons of some significance, but nowadays it is common among anyone who wants to write one's own biography. (see Korhonen, 2003, p. 1 & Vilkko, 2000, pp. 74-85) Many people are attracted by biographies and narratives. It has become a useful method to use them also in therapy and in tutoring. It is used as a methodology for research which needs new challenges. (Saarenheimo, 2001) Lalive D´Epinay (1995, p. 49) describes biographies as an evidence of the life term story. He adds that there is always a part in narratives which is imagined but that doesn't make them unproved. Roos (1987, p. 31) describes the writers of the biographies as very sensitive story tellers. This is not only because the stories are from their own life, but also because it has had a great impact on their lives and to their way of thinking. Roos has found out that the most what people are telling about consist of their poorness, sufferings and humiliations, not to forget the time when they have been treated with contempt.

Furlong (1951, p. 31) is concerned about memory. He found out in his study that memory is copying the past very well as if everything that happened was yesterday. It is also possible to remember happenings in your life even if it happened far in your past. Memorizing and telling the stories can also be easy. Actually, those difficult experiences in life stay stable in ones memory better than those memories which have been neutral. Narratives are one type of making sense of life. By narrating their lives, people want to arrange their thoughts and make sense of everything. It is a way of understanding what has happened and what the logic in everything in their life is. (See: Tonkin, 1992 & Thompson, 1988) It is possible to say that in spite of the told stories, all the written culture is outlined by narratives. All of our lives are full of different stories and every one of us is carrying a story.

Acculturation

"Acculturation is said to be the exchange of cultural features that results when groups come into continuous firsthand contact. It is also said to be a process in which member of one cultural group adopt the beliefs and behaviours of an other group." (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Acculturation#History_of_acculturation) Acculturation theory has been first used among anthropologists in America. Already in 1888, anthropologist Franz Boas has argued that all the people can acculturate and not only those who are `savages´ or belong to a minority.

Usually acculturation occurs the direction of a minority group adopting habits or language patterns of the dominant ones; it can also be the other way, so that the dominant group adopts typical patterns of the minority. One can see the changes in language preference or in adoption of common attitudes and values. It can be also seen by membership in social groups and loss of ethnic identification. (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936) Despite all research, the theory has continued to focus on changes experienced by the immigrants, aboriginals or other minorities.

Redfield, Linton &Herskovits (1936) were the first ones who mentioned the acculturative stress. That kind of stress can cause psychological, somatic and social difficulties in the acculturation process. Redfield etc. called it `physic conflict´, which arises from being in conflict with the cultural norms. Ausbelt (1961) was the first one who measured the acculturative stress. After him there have been many who have claimed that acculturative stress causes the major problems for minority people. (e.g. Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1983; Hovey, 2000)

In my study I used this acculturation theory as frame to the narratives and biographies. I wanted to know how the Karelians adjusted themselves to other parts of Finland especially to the West part of Finland and how people there were assimilating with them. Child (1943) and Levin (1943) began to keep acculturation as a strategic

reaction of the minority to continuous contact with a dominant group of people. There are some options that the minority can choose in this process, each of them with its own consequences. These options are assimilation to the major culture, a defensive assertion of the minority culture or bicultural blending of those two cultures and finally; a bicultural alternation. If we want to follow Berry's (1980, 2003; see also Korhonen in this volume) terminology, he has pronounced four major strategies which are commonly named: Assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization.

Integration has said to be the best way for the migrates to adjust themselves to the major culture, as in that case the migrant can have a good relation to his own ethnic culture and to the major culture. Assimilation happens when a person wants to forget completely his ethnic culture and his cultural identity and assimilates entirely to the major culture. In this case, a person abandons his own culture and adopts the dominative culture. Berry (ibid.) states that this is the worst situation in the acculturation process, especially among the youth. In separation a person wants to keep his ethnic culture and tries to avoid social contacts with the people from the major culture. And in the last option, which is marginalization, a person becomes alienated from his own ethnic culture and also cannot adopt the major culture. In this situation you can say that a person has "dropped out" between two cultures and that he feels rejected.

According to Berry (1988, pp. 30-31) acculturation can be understood as an individual's acculturation or as an acculturation of a whole group of people. In this sense you can be able to call it person's psychological acculturation. In this sense the study should concentrate on inside or outside conflicts or bigger crises in an individual's life. For every immigrant there is a reason and in research we try to find out these reasons. Adding to that, it is good to study how people adapt to new cultures. For that reason the target in research is the life in the new place which has another culture and habits. When studying the acculturation processes it is better to study the ordinary lives of

migrates than anything else. Actually acculturation process gets more of a sociological or psychological approach in research concerning the migrants. Liebkind (2000) adds, that in a larger approach acculturation means the adjustment of a specific ethnic group to the new society.

One of the main themes in this study is the adaptation of the Karelians. Even though they belong to Finland and are Finnish by their roots, they belong to an ethnic group of people who have got their own traditions, language, religion and most of all, their own culture. That was also the reason why I took acculturation as a frame for my study.

Lost homes

430 000 Karelians were forced to leave their homes back in Karelia in East Finland, because of the war with the Russians in 1939. In my study I asked ten elderly people about their experiences leaving their homes. I interviewed these elderly people in their homes. I did not have to ask much to lead the conversation. The war time was still very clear in their minds. Mostly their stories became to be narratives leading to this day. It was striking to me that most of the narratives were telling a story of home.

> "Home back in Karelia, is always in my mind. How could I forget the smell of my mother's baking and that homely feeling inside of me."

> "I remember when mother was crying a lot and she tried to ripe up the plants from the ground, because she wanted to take them all with her. And there was nothing that she would have liked to leave for the Russians. She wanted us to take everything with us. But there was not much, we could take. Even my little doll, whose

name was Maija, was left there. My mother would only tell me to leave it in the last bedroom of the house. And I was crying, because I did not want to leave my best and dearest doll. Mother said that I should leave it to take care of the house, while we are away… and so I believed her. "

Those people whom I interviewed were not winners. After all these years they were sad and bitter. They felt they had lost everything when the war broke out and they were forced to leave their homes. It was astonishing to me as a researcher to realize that many of the Karelians still remembered the wartime and the happenings very well. They could actually describe those times by the hour. It was all still very clear in their minds. Mostly, we think that time will sweeten our memories, but the truth is, that all those kind of harsh memories have been so full of emotion when they happened, that it is easy to remember them even after a century.

Life was very different afterwards. Leaving home and everything that is dearest to you is not easy. The shadow of that dramatic experience will stay with you all your life. Norman Davies (1995) has described it in his book as: "a process of tearing up family's roots and putting them down elsewhere is a scaring experience at the best of times."

Narratives in my study

I interviewed ten persons for my study. Their stories were very authentic and sensitive. Actually, it was not easy to sit and listen when they were telling their stories. I felt to be as their psychotherapist. As a researcher I was surprised how clearly they remembered the wartime and the evacuation.

When the war broke out, they had to leave their homes quickly. They were told that they could take with them only as much they could bear to carry. Most of the refugees had to travel to the West by railway. In their narratives they were describing the journey very clearly. They could still remember the chaos which there was in the station. Some of the children lost their families, because it was so crowded there. War time child is telling:

> "I tried to keep my sorrows from others and many times it felt overwhelming to me. I learn to keep it inside of me and never told about my sorrows to anyone. I could not have added to my mother's sorrows. She had so many of them already."

I will now tell a story of a wartime child who is describing her evacuation and the war time and about her life afterwards in Finland.

> "I remember the warm atmosphere at my home in Karelia. I had two brothers and a mother and father. I was about seven years old and we were living in a small Village in Karelia. Mother was often baking and cooking. We used to have a little farm and my father knew how to do everything with his own bare hands. We got help from neighbours if we needed, because everyone in the village knew each other very well. We had many relatives also living near by. One evening one old granny game to visit, she was known to be the one who knows everything about everything... The rumours and so on. She told my parents something awful, I could see it from their faces. Afterwards the atmosphere at the house changed and we were not allowed to go out or keep the light on anymore or mother was not able to bake during day time. Even the food had to be done at night. We had to shut the windows and cover them with the sheets. At nights we could hear the bombing from far away. Sometimes the planes flew so close by that the windows broke. It happened in school yard, when we were playing. Suddenly

many aeroplanes flew over the school and they were flying very down and the noise was awful. And we ran to the nearest field to see them and our teacher was screaming and calling us to come indoors. When we were inside, we could hear the bombing from far. And our teacher asked us to pack our things and to go home straight away. And we did go, but that was it, we did not go to school anymore in that year." (Amanda)

Amanda told me in her lifetime story how they moved to Satakunda with her mother and two brothers. Her father went to serve in the army and he was in the frontlines near the border with Russia. Just before leaving their home, they had received the sad message about her father. He had died in the battle. She said she could not remember much about it, but that her mother was devastated. They were evacuated quickly after that sad message. She remembered the journey by railway to west Finland. In between travelling, the train stopped and they were offered some food. It was cold in the train and people tried to stay beside their loved ones in order to feel safe. When they arrived at their destination, everything was unclear and they had to settle in the beginning in one house belonging to the church. They stayed there for some days, before someone came to take them to their farm house. She said that they got one bedroom from that house, but because the family did not have more place to give them, soon they had to change the place to another house nearby in the same village. This is the way how they were forced to move from house to house. Who ever needed help from her mother, because she used to be a good cook and knew also very well to care the household, liked to have them in their house.

Once it happened that her family settled to a house, where the room was very cold. There was one young man living in the neighbour-hood who was interested in her mother. One evening he came to the room were they stayed and took her in his arms and said to her mother that now he will take this girl to live in a warmer house and

he will be more than happy if her mother will come after with the rest of the family to live there too. Afterwards her mother and that man got married and she got other brothers.

In Amanda's story you could find the hardship in her life when she was very young. She lost her father and felt how those people behaved when they came to west Finland. She said that she often felt that she was different and that others did not want to play with her at school. They called her names, but she did not care. Afterwards when her mother got married the situation was different because they got a new family and new relatives in their lives. It was easier to adapt themselves to West Finland and it `s culture.

There was a story of a man, whom I call here Tauno. He had many brothers and sisters. They were evacuated to one small town. In that town they were treated badly and they were given an old house to live in. They were all together nine sleeping in the small bedroom, when his father happened to be at home. Then mother heard about the change to be able to send her children to Sweden if she was not able to take care of them by herself. In that time there was a lack of food and life was a big struggle. She decided to give up her children for the sake of the war and because of her bad economical situation. Her husband was a sailor, and he was a lot away. First she sent two of the children to Sweden, one of them was a man whom I interviewed. And in the end she sent there also her youngest son. Tauno was telling me a very creepy story about the journey to Sweden with his sister. First they went by train to Turku and from there to Vaasa. From there their journey continued by ship to Sweden. He and his sister were not very lucky, because they did not get a warm and kind family over there. First they felt like strangers, because they did not know the language and because all the people around were strangers. Of course they felt also homesick and very unsafe. The only thing that they had was that they had each other and their home language. Tauno said in the interview that he and his sister were very sad children over there

in Sweden. They had to work hard as if they would have been adults and their foster parents were not nice to them.

> "My foster parents told us that we should not eat so much, because children don't need so much to eat as adults and we should work hard to get something to eat. And we were forced to go to fields or to woods to cut the trees for heating. Mostly I had to work hard work, because I was older and I was a boy. In a few years I managed to earn some pocket money by working also for the neighbours. With that money I managed to buy for myself some clothes, because my foster parents did not want to give me any clothes, except those that they had got from the government office."(Tauno)

They did not get any love and care from their new parents. But soon they picked up the language and got used to their situation. When Tauno heard about the change to go back home, he forced the foster parents to make contact with his parents and let him go home. He told me also about his little brother who was sent to live in the neighbourhood. He insisted to take his brother with him and to go home to Finland. Their sister had been adopted by the foster parents and she stayed there in Sweden. After coming home life was not easy. He was put in school in Finland even though he had forgotten the Finnish language. At school they called him names and there was no one to understand his situation. Adding to that his mother had got divorced and moved to a small village. In that time it was very rare to be a single mother taking care of the children alone.

> "It did not matter for me, even if they called me with names at school. I used to it in Sweden, that I was there different. There I did not know the language very well and here in Finland I had forgot the Finnish language. They called me and my brother as Swedish Guy's. The difficulties at school were caused also because my mother was a single mother and because we were Karelians." (Tauno)

But Tauno managed these hard times and the war was ending. He got a job in Turku in a factory. He got married and decided to move back to Sweden because he had heard that it is easy for Finnish men to get a job over there. He did not have any problem anymore with the language either.

> "Even though we (me and my wife) did know the language already well, they noticed that we were Finnish workers at that factory in Sweden. We were good workers, but even that, we were always called lazy. If we said something against the boss, they started to call us second hand Finnish people. Sometimes I felt so angry inside me, but tried to keep it all inside and to behave myself and tried to be just as normal a person as I ever could be." (Tauno)

From Tauno`s narrative it is possible to realize that he did not feel at home anywhere after loosing his trust in life in those hard years in Sweden and in Finland. He told me that he felt homeless, even now that he had come back to Finland with his wife. Just before some time of the interview, his wife died and he felt lonely. He didn't feel to be at home in Finland and that is the reason why he was thinking of moving outside of Finland again and to live the rest of his life somewhere else.

Placing narratives into the societal change and crisis

After the Second world war Finland was facing an enormous task to adjust all 430 000 migrants from Karelia to other parts of Finland. There was also an enormous need to arrange jobs for the people after the war. It was not only Finnish men who needed help to find a place but also those Karelians, who had lost everything. The war had been

damaging a lot of city structures and houses for living and there was a big need for reconstruction.

The research material on this study was gathered by interviewing ten Karelians migrants who had lost their homes back in Karelia. At war time these people were small children and had lost a lot in their lives. They did not loose only their homes but also their closest family members or loved ones. Sallinen-Gimpl (2005) pronounces that these children of the war are a group of people who have been forgotten for a long time in Finnish history and also in academic research.

There was a time in history, when we did not know how hardships influenced a child's mind. It was only recently found, that these kinds of harsh experiences are dramatic to children's psyche. These children of Karelia had carried these memories throughout their lives. In 1945 or even in 1950`s there was no possibility to get help for your traumas. The Government had a big need for reconstruction and resettling Karelians refugees from South East to elsewhere in Finland. The children of Karelia were forgotten. Many of the children became orphans; there were also children who had been sent to Sweden during the war, because their parents did not have the possibility to take care of their children in Finland. All these things caused deep wounds in the minds of the Karelians.

How did these war children survive their lives? Many of them said in their biographies that they had a trauma. Some of them were still having nightmares or traumatic memories which were keeping them silent. There is a lot that they would not like to talk about. Those who learn to share these traumatic experiences are the ones who survived and managed the best in their lives.

Most of the ones that I interviewed, were crying when they spoke about those war times. Home seemed to be the place where they were longing for. At home the family was together and everything around was something they were used to. Moving to the West was for many an annoying and difficult time. Most of the people had to live with

the help of others. And often it happened that the place where they were settling was full of evil minded people, who were not happy that they came or who did not even try to be friendly.

I tried to figure it out, how these children managed to settle with their families to West Finland. In my research I found out that it was easier for those young ones to adjust themselves to new culture. They said in their biographies how hard it had been for their parents to settle in the West. By analysing the interviews I realized their bitterness. Many of the Karelians had never been able to speak about their experiences or it had been a forbidden subject to talk about.

In their narratives and life course stories women said, that when they found a husband for themselves it was easier to adjust to the local culture. But for most of the people, evacuation was a shocking experience. Some of the Karelians stated that they were moving from place to place so often that it was impossible to feel that they were even trying to settle and it was very difficult to get friends.

On the other hand it was easier for the children to settle down and start a new life. First of all, they were in contact with the major culture because they were put in schools. Secondly, there they made friends; learnt local Finnish and all about the culture. Unfortunately, even that experience was not so positive to every child because the teachers and the children did not always know how to get along with Karelian children or it was very difficult for the people in the West to acculturate with Karelians. And that is why the Karelian children were often called bad names and troubled at schools.

Conclusion

In this study the main actors are the wartime children who are now elderly people. This is a fact to be taken in account. It makes me sad to think that soon these people will not be here anymore and how

much more they could have to tell us. Of course when they were children, they saw the world from a child's point of view. But that doesn't make it less worthy.

Another thing is the question of memory. I noticed how well they remembered that time of the war. It made me wonder, how they could remember it so well and are they telling me the truth? But even of my suspects I cannot deny, what had happened and those are the ones who actually experienced it. This material that I gathered together is very important and special material telling something new about history. Migration was painless and the evacuation went well by the historian. Only recently it has been found out that it did not go so well. In my study I found out that there is other kind of truth about the reality which was experienced by those evacuated people.

People in Finland were all poor and suffering from the war, it was even harder for those who lost everything. Those local people, who were forced to give the Karelians a piece of their land, or a room to live, were bitter. They did not want to give up their land easily. Even though it happened that only those who owned a lot had to give a place for Karelians. The acculturation was both sided. It was also difficult for the major culture to get along with the Karelians and to understand their cultural differences. Karelians were often called `Russians´, which was not said in a good sense. Even the teachers at schools did not behave very well towards the Karelian children. It means that both the adults and the children had a problem in understanding Karelians. Children were not treated well in general, because at that time they did not think about child's psychological development. Many of the traumatic experiences for those children from the war time exist because of that. The education was authorised and children were taught to obey their parents. They had to behave themselves and honour their parents and their teachers without critic. Children had to carry a burden of a responsibility which was too much for them. The reconstruction time and the time of normalization took most of the time and the energy from adults. Again the children were the ones to suffer.

With this study I wanted to make us realize how we arrived to this welfare state and how much these people have sacrificed to build this country. I also wanted to let these people tell their stories in order to let their voices be heard.

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Youth, Values and Citizenship Education in culturally Diverse Settings

5

Significant Learning in Intercultural Contexts: A Closer Look at European Volunteers

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Abstract: Using data from a small-scale research project on European Voluntary Service (EVS) programme participants, the authors combine learning theories to build a framework that aims at analysing three aspects of an EVS volunteer's learning processes: the individual's learning, relationships' role(s) and intercultural influences. Results demonstrate that volunteers undergo significant learning processes through implicit learning that are influenced by relationships. Outcomes converge into increased self-efficacy, and an expansion of self.

Keywords: European Voluntary Service (EVS), implicit learning, intercultural context, relationships, self-efficacy, significant learning, youth

Purpose of the Chapter and Research Questions

Due to our personal experiences of learning in intercultural contexts we became interested in the core learning of long-term experiences abroad. The present chapter aims at understanding learning processes of youth volunteers who participate in the European Voluntary Service program (EVS), which is an example of a learning program that is intercultural in nature. All EVS activities take place outside a volunteer's country of residence and last 2-12 months.

"European Voluntary Service is a 'learning' service" (EC, 2007, p. 61). Since "at the heart of learning is not merely what is learnt, but what the learner is becoming (learning) as a result of doing and thinking – and feeling" (Jarvis, 2006, p. 6), it was our assumption that beyond the development of practical skills and / or building new knowledge, a learning experience abroad results in other, more implicit learning outcomes. These are acquired through what is known as "significant learning," learning that makes a difference in an individual's behaviour, attitudes and personality (Rogers, 1961). In fact, personal development constitutes a significant part of learning processes in EVS activity, as explained by one of the volunteers:

> "It is difficult to put the words together. It involves every part of your life, and it is not just living somewhere else, doing your project; also social life, and yourself. You understand yourself better and you learn a lot of small things like washing clothes or cooking for example so all this EVS experience and big things is difficult to put in words and reduce to a few things."
>
> – Dominika

Therefore, we have focused on personal development as the implicit outcome of significant learning happening in intercultural contexts. We also wondered what the role is of helping relationships in a volunteer's learning. Finally, we considered the impact of intercultural immersion.

Accordingly, the aim of this chapter is to answer 3 questions which will aim at unfolding facets of significant learning that takes place in intercultural contexts:

- What is the implicit learning taking place while EVS volunteers are abroad?
- What role do relationships play in this learning?
- What role does the intercultural context play in this learning?

Findings derived from a small-scale empirical study conducted with EVS volunteers, "Developing Coping Abilities in Intercultural Contexts[1]," conducted in Denmark, June to August, 2008.

Setting the Context: European Voluntary Service

History

European Voluntary Service is a program that falls under Action 2 of the European Union's Youth in Action Program. EVS "became a fully-fledged Community action program in 1998, enabling young people to participate as volunteers in social, cultural and environmental activities of benefit to the local community" (CEC, 2001a, p. 64). The voluntary service is unpaid, non-profit and full-time during a given period. Projects can take place in a variety of areas: culture, youth, sports, social care, cultural heritage, arts, civil protection, environment, development cooperation, etc., and can be carried out individually or in groups.

7,100 young people participated in EVS in 1996-1999 and about 30,000 young volunteers have participated in EVS between

1. "Developing Coping Abilities in Intercultural Contexts" (COPE Project) was a small-scale empirical study financially supported by the International Office of the Danish School of Education, Aarhus University, in Denmark, and conducted by J. Lau, X. Nguyen, K. Procter, and O. Skrypnyk under the supervision of Dr. M. Milana.

2000-2006. With time, EVS has shifted its aims from targeting young people from socially vulnerable and excluded groups to a more inclusive approach. Within the 19–30-age range, EVS volunteers are either out of the formal education system or taking a break before they proceed with their next step (formal education or labour market).

As previously mentioned, "EVS is a 'learning service'" (EC, 2007, p. 61). Learning elements consist of: a mutually[2] agreed upon definition of expected learning outcomes, processes and methods; a certification of acquired competences; the volunteer's participation in EVS' training cycle, including task-related, linguistic and personal support; as well as a crisis prevention and management mechanism (*ibid.*). Among EVS principles related to learning are the non-formal educational and intercultural learning dimensions. As extracted from an official EVS certificate of completion awarded to an EVS volunteer[3], declared learning opportunities are: broadening a volunteer's horizons, familiarising them with a different social and cultural environment, developing self-confidence, increasing their independence and maturity, acquiring / improving practical skills / language skills, learning about taking responsibility, and working in a team.

Volunteering & Learning

Through contact with EVS volunteers[4] it became apparent that irrespective of sometimes serious problems with official arrangements of the program, dissatisfaction at work (especially in the beginning of a volunteer's mandate), difficulties of integration within the new cultural and work settings, culture shock and unsustainable environmental

2. Mutually agreed upon by the volunteer, sending organisation and hosting organisation.
3. Certificate of Award to O. Skrypnyk for the completion of EVS service, 2006–2007.
4. Authors' experience with EVS includes a combination of being a volunteer and completing the service for 12 months, training volunteers, and researching with volunteers and EVS management staff in both sending and hosting organisations.

conditions, EVS volunteers seem to be satisfied with their being abroad. The recurring theme in our discussions with them is how much they learned – about people and about themselves. This glaring contradiction, or paradox is what led us to question what is it, then, that makes EVS so satisfactory for its participants? What is it that they learn?

An evaluation of the program clearly states that EVS has a significant, positive impact on its young participants in terms of raising their intercultural awareness, enabling them to acquire skills, improve their self-confidence, and increase their capacity for initiative and creativity (CEC, 2004, pp. 17–20). Academic research that connects volunteering and learning is limited in relation to the purpose of this chapter. Volunteering is approached with the perspective that it is useful in developing competences related to citizenship, and also, that it can have an impact on community development (Brandstetter & Kellner, 2001), which usually does not address the learning processes but rather focuses on their outcomes. A good portion of research that is relevant to conceptualising learning processes during EVS was conducted with the focus on local volunteerism (Elsdon, 1995; Livingstone, 1999). Some of the processes identified on the local level are shared by volunteers who go abroad, however, the component of working abroad is missing. To bridge the gap, there are a variety of studies in the field of psychology related to the sojourner's experiences and cultural adjustment. However, these studies cannot be directly applied to learning experiences within EVS for several reasons. The processes sojourners undergo can vary depending on the structure of their experiences: businessmen, professionals and scholars tend to have more identified roles than volunteers and missionaries (Church, 1982, p. 546). However, studies related to volunteers (i.e. Peace Corps) cannot be completely applied either: the age range of Peace Corps volunteers is wider than EVS volunteers. Studies on sojourners of a similar age group (Erasmus students) can be complementary but the volunteer's roles are more ambiguous and their involvement within the host culture is higher than that of students (Olczak & Penczek,

2006). Thus, we used the studies on local volunteers as a starting point in the search of theoretical framework to conceptualise the learning processes of EVS volunteers.

Although EVS program descriptions emphasise the role of non-formal learning, the actual learning that occurs during a voluntary experience abroad is in large part informal. Sousa & Quarter (in Branstetter & Kellner, 2001) found that informal learning takes place through mentoring, manuals, meeting with staff and colleagues, retreats, newsletters, organisational updates via email, the internet, journals, watching videos and through personal correspondence. All of these comprise daily activities that EVS volunteers undertake. Sousa & Quarter (ibid.) also reported that non-formal learning takes place through orientations, conferences, training courses and workshops as well as certification. In the case of EVS, volunteers need to participate in at least three non-formal educational activities: pre-departure orientation, on-arrival and mid-term training normally lasting for 5 days (EC, 2007). Clearly volunteers can be involved in conferences and training courses if that is a part of their working tasks, but in terms of the proportion between non-formal and informal elements, it is undoubtedly informal learning that takes place most of the time.

As defined in the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning*, informal learning is a natural accompaniment to everyday life; it is not necessarily intentional and may not be recognised by individuals as contributing to their knowledge and skills (CEC, 2000). Informal learning can be defined as any activity involving the pursuit of understanding, knowledge or skill which occurs outside the curricula of formal and non-formal educational institutions (Livingstone, 1999). There have been academic attempts to categorise informal learning that happens through volunteering (Elsdon, 1995; Brandstetter & Kellner, 2001). Some of the categories addressed, are related to specific knowledge, such as language skills or professional skills (e.g. factual knowledge on particular issues), instrumental skills, process skills (Schugurensky & Mündel, in Branstetter & Kellner, 2001), international infor-

mal learning (Livingston, in Branstetter & Kellner, 2001), content / thematically based learning, occupational learning (Elsdon, 1995); while some are related to citizenship (e.g. political and civic learning) (Elsdon, Schugurensky & Mündel, in Branstetter & Kellner, 2001); and finally some deal with personal development (personal learning, social learning) (Elsdon, 1995).

Elsdon (1995) undertook a large scale survey of local voluntary organisations in Britain and empirically discovered:

> The one [of the voluntary program objectives] which was given priority almost universally, and reported as being of greater importance than the content objectives of the organization, is quite simply growth in confidence, and its ramifications and secondary effects of self-discovery, freedom in forging relationships and undertaking tasks, belief in oneself and in one's potential as a human being and an agent, and ability to learn and change (p. 47).

EVS "produces an impetus" for personal development and a considerable gain in self-confidence (CEC, 2004, p. 18), which is what people in close contact with volunteers observe. It is from this perspective that we started interpreting the data we had about EVS volunteers and their learning.

Data Collection

The data used for analysis in this chapter was collected in a small-scale empirical study, "Developing Coping Abilities in Intercultural Contexts" (COPE Project Interim Report, 2008), conducted in Denmark, June to August, 2008. The research methodology was based on a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In order to identify potential interviewees, the EVS online database of projects

was used. Initial contact with organisations was conducted via phone and more than 40 EVS volunteers were contacted via email. 10 international volunteers who were hosted by Danish organisations agreed to participate in the study and 10 semi-structured, in-depth interviews were arranged and carried out. 7 randomly selected interviews were used for this chapter's analysis.

Participants were required to have had completed at least 4 months of service, and in the final sample, 5 out of 7 volunteers were near the completion of long-term projects (10-12 months). The sample includes 6 females and 1 male aged 19 to 26, corresponding to the gender representation in EVS[5] (CEC, 2001b, p. 17). The volunteers have different cultural backgrounds (UK, Armenia, Germany, Luxembourg, France, Austria, and Hungary). Each interview session lasted from 40 minutes to 1 hour. Volunteers signed a consent form agreeing that data collected could be used for publication, and that private data would be kept anonymous.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

We have taken a qualitative approach to data collection, analysis and interpretation, seeking meaning of living experiences on learning that resulted in implicit outcomes from participants' points of view. In order to increase our awareness of personal constructions in interpretations and reflections on data, all three authors of this chapter reviewed transcripts and participated in coding. There are inevitable effects that our experiences of being abroad long-term have played in our interpretations, however, being of three different cultural backgrounds and age categories ourselves, we aimed at interpretations that were as minimally tied to our personal biases as possible. One of the authors

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5. According to the program's 2003 Interim Evaluation Report, 75% of volunteers are women (CEC, 2001b, p. 17).

has participated in EVS herself, and it is difficult to say if interpretations could have differed, if all of us had been outside observers of the learning processes.

Learning experiences were accessed in retrospect, thus, limiting our ability to capture learning as it happened. However, we tried to gain an insight into the processes by facilitating participants' reflections, which enabled us to outline the conditions and circumstances for these experiences to occur. Since participants were given freedom to determine what they thought were learning experiences, significant learning experiences, as well as others might have been omitted, though not intentionally.

The sample includes interviews with volunteers who managed through their service (rather than quitting) – 4 out of 7 were just days away from leaving the country. As such, the perspective of learning from those who have decided to terminate their service was not attended to.

As a whole however, we believe that the analysis and interpretations provide an interesting insight into the processes that EVS volunteers undergo and that they can be valuable for both researchers and practitioners who work with EVS.

General Findings

Overview

Starting from our research questions, we were interested in the learning that occurred throughout the EVS volunteering service and in what capacity relationships and intercultural settings played a role in the processes. As such, we analysed experiences which were referred to, by participants themselves, as "learning". It became apparent to us that these learning experiences almost entirely resulted in *implicit* learning outcomes rather than explicit (those which are easily measurable.

We then grouped them as seen in Table 1 with what Elsdon (1995) observed as learning outcomes: *growth in confidence*, *self-discovery*, *undertaking tasks*, *belief in one's self and in one's potential*, and *ability to change.* In this categorisation, it is important to note that although undertaking tasks may be considered as explicit learning outcomes, we treated them as implicit, since identified items were explained within a context of "learning how to perform, *with* the confidence to do so," or "executing something for the first time." Further, in order to analyse the capacity in which relationships played a role in this implicit learning, we recorded if the learning occurred *autonomously*, within a *specified relationship*, or within an *unspecified relationship*.

Autonomous learning describes learning that participants reported as a process taking place through self-reflection and observations made on past experiences that they recalled. Learning that participants referred to as occurring within relationships was sub-divided into five categories as mentioned by the volunteers themselves: *through colleagues* (including superiors, subordinates, team-mates / other EVS volunteers in a professional setting); *through other EVS volunteers* (that they have interacted with in their personal time); *through locals* (acquaintances and friends, including significant others, that are Danish); *through direct and indirect beneficiaries of the social service that the host organisation was providing* (almost all Danish); and *through people associated with home* (relatives, friends from home, etc.). In the category of unspecified relationships, the participants articulated learning as if it emerged from a totality of realms, or through time, space, and indefinite relationships. Furthermore it typifies forms of learning that got reaffirmed through ongoing experiences.

Table 1. Implicit Learning for EVS Volunteers

Implicit Learning Outcomes	Relationship: Autonomously
Growth in Confidence	• Thinking, "I can" • Learning how to say, "No" • Living on one's own • Being proud
Self-Discovery	• Learning about stress thresholds • Learning about the emotional self • Learning about strengths and weaknesses • Taking initiative to research on topics related to work in areas of interest
Undertaking Tasks	• Becoming an Art-Team Founder and Manager • Learning to ride a bike • Taking on responsibility (in general) • Making action plans for coping and change
Belief in Oneself & One's Potential	• Believing that one can improve the way things are run (professionally) • Learning how to orient oneself in a city, taking public transport, getting civil registration, etc… • Staying committed and viewing oneself as a contributing agent • Developing the belief that one can learn a foreign language • Taking the initiative (with responsibilities or people; confronting uncertainty)

	• None mentioned in the interviews
Relationship: Colleagues **(any, including volunteers, in a professionalsetting)**	
Growth in Confidence	• Shifting from avoiding conflict to facing it • Realising what is one's responsibility versus others'
Self-Discovery	• Developing self-insights that arise from conflict management

Undertaking Tasks	• Undertaking tasks one never thought they would / could do • Learning how to run a non-profit café • Learning how to keep spirits high for others • Learning how to work in a team • Organising and leading language / cultural afternoon sessions • Learning how to cook
Belief in Oneself & One's Potential	• None mentioned in the interviews
Ability to Learn & Change	• Learning about ethics and spirit • Dealing with discrimination (of self and others) • Developing conflict-management skills due to intercultural clashes • Learning to be flexible with changes at work (i.e. in management, working schedule, etc...)
Relationship: EVS Volunteers **(personal relationships only)**	
Growth in Confidence	• None mentioned in the interviews
Self-Discovery	• Developing self-insights about career orientation

Undertaking Tasks	• None mentioned in the interviews
Belief in Oneself & One's Potential	• None mentioned in the interviews
Ability to Learn & Change	• Learning how to live with others
Relationship: Locals (acquaintances, friends, including significant others)	
Growth in Confidence	• None mentioned in the interviews
Self-Discovery	• Becoming a part of the local culture and forging relationships with locals
Undertaking Tasks	• None mentioned in the interviews
Belief in Oneself & One's Potential	• None mentioned in the interviews
Ability to Learn & Change	• Realising changes in personal values • Learning how to live with others
Relationship: Users / Customers (also locals)	
Growth in Confidence	• None mentioned in the interviews
Self-Discovery	• Developing self-insights about career orientation
Undertaking Tasks	• Learning to communicate with different people on almost any issue • Learning Danish
Belief in Oneself & One's Potential	• Having the motivation to go and make a difference in other people's lives

Ability to Learn & Change	• Developing an ability to be flexible in one's profession roles
	• Developing an ability to empathise with disadvantages groups
	• Learning about values
Relationship: Home Relationships (family & friends)	
Growth in Confidence	• None mentioned in the interviews
Self-Discovery	• None mentioned in the interviews
Undertaking Tasks	• None mentioned in the interviews
Belief in Oneself & One's Potential	• None mentioned in the interviews
Ability to Learn & Change	• Realising change in the self (personality, behaviour and values) through discussions with people from home
Relationship: Unspecified Relationships	
Growth in Confidence	• Developing the freedom of being "who you are"
Self-Discovery	• Learning about career orientation
	• Learning about one's own levels of tolerance
Undertaking Tasks	• Dealing with the logistics of moving to a new country
	• Learning Danish
Belief in Oneself & One's Potential	• None mentioned in the interviews

Ability to Learn & Change	• Learning to accept differences in cultural norms and traditions • Learning "a lot about other people" • Becoming flexible and patient • Developing an ability to learn for survival • Learning to be self-reliant and responsible for oneself • Developing an ability to empathise with foreigners in one's home country and immigrants in general • Finding motivation

Autonomous Implicit Learning

In the autonomous learning category, participants reported developing a capacity to doing things (thinking that 'I can'); learning how to say 'No'; living on their own and being proud of their work. Generally 'thinking that I can' was a recurrent theme and was plainly stated in six out of seven interviews. Autonomous implicit learning that resulted in self-discovery encompasses self-learning about one's personality and capacity (e.g. stress thresholds, the emotional self, as well as strengths and weaknesses). From the interviews, it is made evident that this category of learning occurred through reflecting on one's characteristics and traits, which can be regarded as an increase of self-awareness and inquiry into the question of 'who am I?'. Implicit learning outcomes in undertaking tasks derived from experiences in taking on responsibility, usually towards work-related tasks and work-related initiatives, as well as making action plans and developing strategies to cope with difficulties (3 out of 7).

Acquiring beliefs, such as the belief in one's capacity to improve the way things are run professionally, to learn a foreign language, to get things organised in a new environment (settling down and carrying out necessary logistics), were categorised as autonomous learning. These beliefs and the success in executing tasks contributed to the increase in the belief in one's self and one's potential. A majority of interviewees (5 out of 7), showed a high level of commitment stemming from an acknowledgment of the importance of their contribution and initiatives (even though it was not always externally acknowledged or appreciated). Commitment resulted from associations with responsibility towards people or by confronting uncertainty, and this was present in all interviews. We observed moreover that developing strategies to cope were used to comfort feelings of uncertainty towards being in a new environment (social / work / cultural).

Implicit Learning Through Relationships

Through (by being in) relationships with their colleagues, interviewees reported engagement in new tasks that they never thought they could do (3 out of 7) and learning teamwork capabilities, which gave rise to an increased readiness to undertaking tasks (e.g. organising and leading afternoon sessions for users). Volunteers learnt to be aware of the working culture (ethics and spirit) that resulted in an ability to learn and change within these contexts. They reported an ability to distinguish between what falls under their responsibility and what does not, as well as the need for flexibility at work and an awareness of the implications of work-related, inter-cultural differences. Being in conflicting situations led volunteers to face problems rather than avoid them (growth in self-confidence as an outcome), which again led them to a greater understanding of themselves and of their limitations.

It is typical that volunteers live and socialise with other volunteers by sharing accommodation and working in locally-based projects. The category of implicit learning happening through other EVS volunteers is therefore a segregate of learning that occurred solely through EVS volunteers outside their official work. Through (by being in) these personal relationships, interviewees clearly identified that they learnt to live with others. One interviewee described how she learnt about her own character and career preferences by visiting projects of her close EVS friends.

Implicit learning taking place in relation to locals encompass all non-EVS-volunteers living in Denmark, who interacted with volunteers outside of the work environment. This includes Danish acquaintances, Danish friends, and Danish significant others like boyfriends and girlfriends. There were two major observations in this sub-category: volunteers developed a sense of belonging with the Danish culture and thus acquired a growth in self-confidence; and two interviewees reported that they became more aware of changes in their personal values through contact with Danes (which assumingly is a product of observations and discussions on the similarities and differences between oneself and the culture one is in). The latter also includes learning how to live with others, by interacting with Danish housemates.

 Implicit learning occurred to a great extent through relation-ships with users or customers, being recipients of services provided by volunteers. In all instances, volunteers were in daily (or frequent) contact with users. Learning that occurring through these relation-ships is generally very similar to that observed through relationships with colleagues. However, conflict was not mentioned, but rather interviewees talked about their acquired ability to communicate with different people on almost any issue, and gaining the motivation to learn Danish (as a means of communication with users). Volunteers increased their confidence, and learnt about values, flexibility at work and developing empathy towards disadvantaged groups, which (as

stated explicitly and implicitly in the interviews) quite often became a profound reason for their commitment to work. It seems that interviewees describe these relationships with positive statements, which also relates back to the purpose of EVS projects: to serve the community.

People from a volunteer's home country were mentioned in interviews in the context of homesickness. In relation to the learning that implicitly led to the ability to learn and change one interviewee reported that she was aware of the changes in herself through discussion with people from home. It seems that encounters with close people from home can serve as a trigger for self-reflection that is needed for understanding the change or potential for change within oneself.

Implicit Learning Through Unspecified Relationships

Under the category of *ability to learn & change*, the most vague but significant learning experiences that occurred (often repeated or emphasised in interviews), were related to people as a whole, values and norms, and the experience of the self as a whole. For example, two participants stated that they learnt to take the freedom to 'be who they are.' However, this occurred generally, or through several different examples which volunteers did not elaborate on, with unspecified relationships to people or circumstances. Similarly, within the category of self-discovery, participants who experienced learning in relation to their levels of tolerance and preferences in career orientation presumably did so through reflection, however, it is not specified if through self-reflection or discussion. Some explained how learning occurred by moving to another country, but it is unclear who assisted, if anyone. Finally, learning Danish was highlighted by three participants and it is natural to assume that their language skills developed through a combination of means: school, work, personal relationships, etc. However, it

is through a total immersion that this took place and no emphasis on particular relationships was specified.

Discussion of the Findings in Relation to Research Questions

What is the implicit learning taking place while EVS volunteers are abroad?

Learning processes as we have categorised in Table 1, provide a qualitative insight in lived experiences, and serve as a basis for answering the question: what implicit learning takes place while the participants are abroad? By interpreting the learning, putting it into context, and assessing its function, it became clear to us that rich or significant learning occurred.

Significant learning can be characterised as involving a certain amount of pain (Rogers, 1969, pp. 157–159 in Illeris, 2007, p. 45), in an experience occurring through a lengthy period of time and taking place in situations with no other way out (as correlated with Engeström's expansive learning) (*ibid*.). We found that EVS volunteers strongly commit themselves to finding solutions in problematic situations which ultimately offer only two choices: to either persist or quit. Significant learning, as coined by Rogers (1961), is:

> …learning that makes a difference – in the individual's behaviour, in the course of action he chooses in the future, in his attitudes and in his personality. It is a pervasive learning, which is not just an accretion of knowledge but which interpenetrates with every portion of his existence (p. 280).

Thus, because EVS volunteers are completely immersed into their learning environments and new intercultural contexts, and because

they are coexisting, functioning, working, and socialising in these environments, their learning imbues every part of their lives. Furthermore, when Rogers refers to the "difference" produced by significant learning, he effectively articulates what the volunteers had difficulty in expressing. To help, he has formulated 6 specific outcomes that he uses to ascertain if the learning that occurs is significant (*ibid.*). Quotations from our interviewees will illustrate each account:

• The person comes to see himself differently:

"I was very surprised that I actually can do that and I was also proud to see that I have many talents where I never thought I had some."

– Dominika

• The person accepts himself and his feelings more fully:

Mary, admitted that she was not very expressive with her feelings before EVS and recalls: "We argued a lot, we had some arguments, very feisty arguments but then after that we were like: Yeah… Ok … Whatever… Culture. Yeah? Yeah. And we get over it."

• The person becomes more self-confident and self-directing:

"Things that I am learning more and more is one, kind of environment that I want to work in and two, kind of environment that I don't want to work in, and if I was ever in a management position how I would react and definitely how I would not react."

– Mary

• The person becomes more flexible, less rigid in his perceptions:

"In my culture maybe and in my family it is not used that we can just make lots of friends and boyfriends. Just to live with this one and with that one, and then with the third one, and then to choose whom you will marry. In my country if you will marry somebody, you just have to choose and get married in two months, in three months. And here, I, you can just move and live with each other, just for three or five years, and then you will decide if you will marry or not. It was really very strange for me. And I said: 'Oh, no! How can I do this?' I said: 'No, sorry, I cannot.' Sometimes they would say: 'What is your religion? Are your Muslim?' I say: 'No, I am Christian but it is not my religion, it is my culture, that is different.' But now I say: 'Okay, it is okay if they want, they have their right just to live and then choose if they want to marry or not.'"

<div align="right">– Marieta</div>

• The person behaves in a more mature fashion:

"Yes, this year definitely changed me in a good way because I know myself too much better, I know where my strengths are, but also where my weak point are… I got aware of a lot of things where I have never thought about it before."

<div align="right">– Dominika</div>

• The person adopts more realistic goals for himself:

"I was very bad to learn language. I really was very bad. I came here, and I was two months and I started to communicate with Danish people, who don't speak English and so it changed ... Now I know if I work hard I can do what I want. And it changes a lot of thing for me."

<div align="right">– Noisette</div>

Rogers understood the self as being impelled towards growth by a principle of actualising tendency, explained as the organism's tendency to develop itself and all its capacities in order to maintain and enhance itself. "It involves development [and] expansions in terms of growth, and expansion of effectiveness. It is the development toward autonomy and away from heteronomy or control by external forces" (Rogers, 1959, p. 196 in Merriam & Clark, 1991, p. 196). Similarly, the dimension that Merriam & Clark (1991) call "sense of self" relates to the impact the learning has on a person's identity. The sense of self expands in two ways: either through the development of greater independence or autonomy, or through the establishment of an increased sense of relatedness or connection. For instance, a young Armenian girl reflected on her own change:

> "I think the most valuable thing was that … I really developed as a person. I can be responsible for myself now, I feel really strong as a person. And I know I will have any difficulties I will just pass them. I will always cope with difficulties, even if I don't live here but in my country. … I will not need my parents' help. … It was my fault; it was my parents' fault because they never let me just to take a bus. … I was like a spoilt child in a family. They did everything for me and then I got here, I had to do all the stuff myself. There was nobody else to do it for me, I need to get my yellow card (CPR – civil registration in Denmark), I need to do it myself. I need to buy my bus card. Of course my project coordinator is not going to leave her place to buy a card for me. Right?"
>
> – Marieta

Merriam & Clark (1991) found that significance of learning is subjectively valued by the learner, as it personally affects the individual either by resulting in an expansion of skills and abilities, sense of self, or life perspective, or by precipitating a transformation that involves the whole person. The interviews show a variety of expansion of

skills and abilities starting from simple instrumental action on how to organise one's life in a new country, to social skills development and a move towards a broader perspective of understanding another culture while contrasting one's own culture. Expansion involving changes in life perspective could take two forms: a change in philosophical life understanding, or be more specific and localised. Dominik from Austria described a change in his philosophical understanding of life. Having worked in his home country in banking service for seven years, he viewed his EVS project as:

> "It opened me in that kind of way that you have to try something out different – do something different. Otherwise you'll never gonna know what you really like in life to work with … Maybe it's just that – I am open now to other kind of work to do and not only stay in this small bank business stuff. … You can't work here if you are not the type … who likes cooking and working in the bar. … Not everyone can do it, so to say. You have to be a bit more mind-open and say 'hello' to people and smile all the time. … It makes fun and it also makes for the customer more fun and I really enjoy it. … We cooked 81 dishes yesterday during the whole day for these computer people … and we were cooking like hell and cleaning like hell… It was very busy but it was one of the best days ever. You sit down after such an evening… You smoke a cigarette and then you are happy with the work you've done, so it happened several times like this… I found the fun in working again, and I really love my work…"

Dominika, from Germany, a young girl who just finished German Gymnasium, referred to a change in life perspective, but in more specific way:

> "For the first time I was a foreigner … I did not understand how foreigners feel, how difficult it is to organise your life when you

don't speak the language… Now I know how foreigners feel when they come to Germany. Now I know why a lot of foreigners stick together with other foreigners, instead of integrating themselves into society because I know how difficult it is."

Therefore, we discovered that significant learning and expansion of self are fitting to the learning experiences of EVS volunteers. Implicit learning occurred, all contributing to the ultimate outcome of 'I can,' but also to general, deep, embodied transformations of values and perspectives.

What role(s) do relationships play in this learning?

Looking back at the relationships mentioned in the volunteers' learning (Table 1), it becomes evident that learning about conflict management, learning how to undertake specific tasks independently and in a team, as well as learning about one's capacity were prevalent in relationships with colleagues. Personal relationships with other EVS volunteers helped individuals with career orientation and to learn how to live with other people. Similarly, locals helped volunteers with the later, as well as learning that occurred with respect to values and culture. Relationships with users further led to learning about values, empathy, flexibility, communication skills and provided volunteers with greater meaning, and contributed to strengthening their motivation and strive to making a difference in others' lives. In unspecified relationships, learning related to identity, career, skills and the performance of tasks, intercultural, adaptability, empathy and autonomy occurred. Therefore, there was no denying that relationships held a role in aiding volunteers towards implicit learning outcomes: projecting, believing in, executing, reflecting upon and finally, embodying the learning.

Implicit, significant learning that scored the highest in the relationship categories in our data are: undertaking tasks you never thought you would / could do; learning Danish; and learning to accept differences in cultural norms and traditions.

Upon reflection, a pattern emerged bridging all the learning to the highest scoring implicit significant learning of all: "Thinking that 'I can.'" It seems that all learning, whether autonomous but also through relationships contributed to this central aspect, which produced several offshoots that relate back to what researchers have described as learning (beyond skills) in volunteerism: greater confidence in oneself, increased autonomy, and maturity. This ties back to an expansion, building and strengthening of the "self" as described by both Merriam & Clark, and Rogers. However, the added contributions of relationships manifested through what Albert Bandura determined as central to his social cognitive theory: "self-efficacy belief" – "people's judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances" (Bandura, 1986, p. 391). With this view, successful experiences build on self-efficacy beliefs whereas failures undermine and weaken it.

Self-efficacy is born out of four main pathways that either produce triumphs or self-improvements (Bandura, 1995):

1. *Mastery experience (victory in performance or victory in overcoming adversity, thereby increasing belief in the value of commitment).*

For instance, Marieta's life at home was highly controlled by her parents. The variety of her mastery experiences resulted in higher confidence; she felt stronger. Taking the bus, learning how to ride a bike, developing communication skills while working at a non-profit café, becoming more open to a Danish culture that she perceived as "frivolous" in the beginning – all of those resulted in a greater belief in her own capacity. One of the outcomes of these subtle changes influenced her commitment:

"It (describing a difficult moment) was connected with my room. I said I cannot live here anymore. Otherwise I will just leave the project... I didn't want to leave the project because – It would be difficult for them to finish this year that is up till the middle of

July... they need people to work here. I could not just. I knew how important I am for them. And I could not leave the project."

– Marieta

2. *Vicarious experience (belief that arises through observation of successful pursuits by social models).*

Mary found strong support from her Danish boyfriend. A lot of her observations about personal and societal values, and how she can be a part of the host culture stemmed from her interactions and relationships with her significant other:

"She (referring to her friend) said she felt unhappy. And she went and bought something and that made her happy. And I always felt the same. But – I cannot do that now you know. I go out to the shops, oh shopping... It was such a big part of my life. My friends were here and I just realised. None of that was important... I can be happy on so little... And my boyfriend is very existentialist... I still feel able to, we both know that the most important thing is that we are talking. That we have love. ... He is always reassessing himself. And – that is also changed I think as well. Meeting someone so... And we make a difference and we have family around us... A part of being here in Copenhagen and a part of my EVS made me realise how much – I always thought these things but it enforced them from the environment I have been in.

– Mary

3. *Social persuasion (including verbal persuasions).*

Dominika came across as a very reflective person. She had had a number of implicit learning experiences that led to self-discovery, but her belief in her potential and understanding of herself (expansion of skills, abilities and self) in many ways came from her interactions with colleagues (superiors) at her working place:

"With my supervisor, with my colleagues I had a lot of talks. And they showed me where, where I have to – deal with difficult character trait. Where it is difficult to work or live with me, so, they reflected me in the work, so I can change in a good way. They help me to grow, and I got aware of a lot of things where I have never thought about that before."

– Dominika

4. *Physiological states (strengths and weaknesses, including strains, pains, stress and moods).*

One of the vivid examples on how physiological states influence the development of self-efficacy can be seen through Mary. Though she admits that before her EVS she was less of an emotional person, she clearly says how with the development of the project, she learnt a lot of about her own stress levels. It seems that emotional ups and downs (however, not without a support of significant others) triggered a more mature and confident approach:

"You are ridiculously unhappy. You don't show it to anyone at work but you are so unhappy when you come home. Talking about it. But you have to do something. But you know I was not able to. I am not very good at. I try to avoid conflicts. But then I end up having a bigger conflict from it... and that is when I left the café. And then I told them all. THEN. So then I had to talk about it. And I talked to my manager..."

– Mary

Bandura provides the ultimate frame for what we deem the decisive outcome of implicit, significant learning: "Thinking that 'I can.'" Through his understanding, and through our EVS volunteers, without a fundamental belief in their capacity to create an outcome (go through the learning, whatever it may be), there could be no motivation, no action, and essentially, no learning. All implicit learning outcomes therefore serve as to ascertain, improve or transform the self into a learner who is effective and "can."

What role does the intercultural context play in this learning?

All learning processes for EVS volunteers are situated within an intercultural context – a host country – and this certainly plays a role in shaping experiences as well as learning processes and outcomes. Supported by helping relationships and self-efficacy, it became evident that culture not only served as a context but also somehow shaped the learning outcomes. As we see it, strengthening the volunteer's sense of "I can" both became the driver and the most significant outcome of intercultural learning. Statements pulled from the interviews conducted in the research indicate a path of intercultural learning from task-orientation to embodiment of new knowledge and beliefs into the self, as illustrated below.
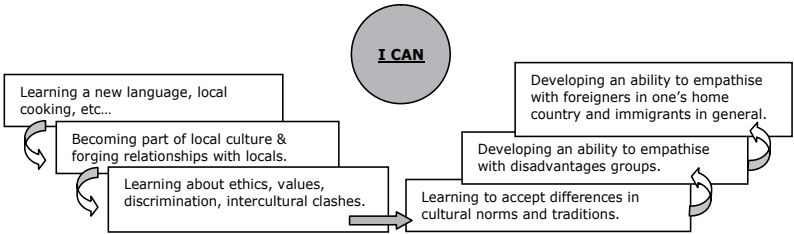
Figure 1. Implicit Learning in an Intercultural Context

By extensive literature review on intercultural competency, Taylor concluded that "intercultural competency is a transformative process whereby the stranger develops an adaptive capacity, altering his / her perspective to effectively understand and accommodate the demands of the host culture" (Taylor, 1994, p. 156). And so by extension of Mezirow's transformative learning theory, which results in the development of "a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative perspective" (Mezirow, 2000, p. 8), Taylor contends that through an intercultural experience, one develops intercultural competency by way of transformation. The individual develops adaptive capacities, which lead to the cognition of what is going on around, and learns to understand and accommodate to the culture (Taylor, 1994, p. 156). Moreover, he describes three types of behavioural learning strategies that happen as on-going practices not occurring in any identifiable order: observing, participating and developing relationships. Through the learning succession illustrated in Figure 1, it is perceptible how volunteers progressed through to this transformation; advancing from basic instrumental (learning a language), to the embodiment of intercultural understanding and empathy, effectively altering the self's identity. This outcome further leads to a strengthening of self-efficacy, as volunteers could then interact, understand and empathise with others. Ultimately, a greater sense of development by way of autonomy and interconnection were derived, thus bridging significant learning and intercultural competency development.

Final Thoughts

In writing this chapter, we had the pleasure of bringing what started as an EVS volunteer's curiosity into her own learning processes to what evolved into a small-scale research project involving several EVS volunteers in Denmark. Our interest is what led us to this tripartite

inquiry and the insight gained brings us much satisfaction, while also strengthening our fascination and leading us to more questions.

Youth volunteers are often forgotten, or at least neglected in adult learning research. However, in bridging implicit significant learning, relationships and intercultural immersion (environment) we found that young volunteers who complete the service gain the ultimate learning experience that lasts: greater self-efficacy. With such an all-encompassing experience (12 months abroad), volunteers learn that 'they can' – no matter what uncertainties face them. At least, 'they can' assess better if veritably, 'they can,' and this gets carried through and back to their home countries, their communities and their personal lives.

In meeting these individuals and in understanding their contexts, their projects, their expectations and their learning, we see there is much more to be considered. For instance, something, which we feel we could not include in this chapter, but which is significant is the pain, these learners go through. In some circumstances, pain seemed to lead to more pain rather than learning. Furthermore, we feel we would have benefited from a follow-up interview with these individuals, but unfortunately, contact was not possible.

However, should these EVS volunteers be reading this chapter, we would like for them to know that we got a tremendous amount of inspiration from them. It is perhaps without their stories that we could not have made this chapter possible. The time and patience it took for them to meet with us, along with the reverberating implicit message – "if I can, so can you" led to our own significant learning in this journey.

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6

Youth values and value changes from cultural and transnational perspectives

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Abstract – The understanding of values is necessary in the multi-cultural world. In this article we study some aspects of the significance of values in cross-cultural as well as in national context in youth life: what is meant by values; where they origin; what are the values of young people today; what are adolescents' attitudes towards diversity and co-existence of different ethnic groups in the globalizing world. We discuss the interconnection between values and action, and why young people need space and tools for developing their value awareness and for their search of meaning in the process of identity formation. With a large youth survey data example from nine countries, we pay attention to the centrality of civic and diversity values when examining adolescents' attitudes towards co-existence of different minorities, like immigrants. The essential question seems to be how the two different orientations, integration (of immigrants) or strong nationalism advocacy, are balanced in the values and attitudes of the adolescents.

Keywords: youth, values, citizenship, identity, diversity, ethnic minorities, integration, nationalism

Introduction

Values are a vital element in all cultures and value awareness can be seen as an essential part of intercultural competence. The meaning of values is also very central for individual identity and its formation during youth. One of the most important general goals in today's world universally is the search for peace and security, combined with general well-being. The reality is unfortunately the opposite for many and well-being is not equally distributed. Thus the questions of what could bring equity between people and different cultural groups, freedom yet sufficient order against chaos, are increasingly strident.

Values may be the essential area where to seek answers from cultural and transnational perspective. Values are strongly interconnected with both thinking and emotions and form a basis of action, both good and bad. They can even be traced as the background of some dramatic recent tragedies like the school shootings.

The value discourse is necessary in the multicultural world. One crucial question is how to solve the huge problems we face in societies and globally. Another crucial question is individual: how each of us should live, how to orientate ourselves in life, how can we manage our life and on which basis we can build our world view. Values are supposed to give some answers to these kinds of questions. In the multicultural world we also need reflection on how we should orient ourselves towards diversity and differences. It is a question touching us globally but more and more also locally and individually when people, ideas, policies, practices, etc travel from one place to another faster and faster.

The building blocks for values in youth are, for instance, our ideas about us and about others and the different sociocultural growth environments in which we act and live. Important growth and learning environments for identity and value socialization are for example family, friends, peer group, studying or workplace, hobby and leisure time communities and other kind of local activity communities.

In changing and globalizing society capabilities to understand and cope with diversified social and cultural reality and construct one's own identity and value related world view are pivotal, especially for young people.

Adolescents are negotiating complex "identities" as they manage these challenges (Thomson, 2007). The identity work of postmodern human being is in principle a versatile, lifelong developmental task. Although traditional conceptions on identity and human development emphasize youth as being the central period for the identity work (for instance Erikson, 1968), identity is necessarily never ready or definitive. It is developing and changing throughout the whole human life cycle. Everyone is constantly affected by different world views and ideologies. A lack of value-self-awareness leads to adoption of prevalent values, instead of intentional and aware value formation. Without conscious choices we tend to adopt the common opinion, to go with the group.

In the globalizing world, young people are seeking their identities and values within a jungle of cultural approaches, ideologies and philosophies. To make sense of who they are and what they want, they need tools and support for understanding. In this article we aim to bring forth some of the relevant questions related to youth values and especially values towards diversity and co-existence of different ethnic groups and review some trials and comparative data sets on structuring the settings.

A discussion on values will easily lead to confusion, misunderstandings and misleading conclusions simply because of the variety of meanings given to the concept of value. For this same reason the research and studies made on youth values, value changes and needs of value re-assessments are difficult and often impossible to use for significant comparisons. Therefore we start our article by an attempt to clarify the different contents given to the concept. A major dividing line seems to be the question whether there are absolutes which provide a final and ultimate standard or whether all values are seen

relative and equal in their "worth". Growing ability to recognise these different basic approaches significantly helps young people, and others, to make sense of various values, ideologies and world views.

About values and value changes in multicultural world

What is meant by a value?

It can be said that values are about our thinking and our thinking is about our values. So the origin of values is hard to reach as such. Thinking is the foundation to all our action, the decisions we make both individually and collectively and what directions we choose. Values tell something about the big questions: who we are; where do we come from; where are we going to; how can we define our identity; what do we want to become; what do we think about others or diversity? And finally: what gives the basic meaning to our lives?

Professor Shalom Schwartz, one of the most well-known researchers of values at present, defines values as "desirable, transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives" (Schwartz, 1994). According to him, there is widespread agreement in the literature regarding five features of the conceptual definition of values: A value is (1) belief (2) pertaining to desirable states of modes of conduct, that (3) transcends specific situations, (4) guides selections or evaluation of behaviour, people, and events, and (5) is ordered by importance relative to other values to form a system of value priorities (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987).

Both in classical philosophy and religion, the concept used instead of values was a "virtue". For Aristotle the main virtues were wisdom, justice, temperance and courage, associated with prudence, magnanimity, liberality and gentleness. Then Christian virtues faith, hope and love, as well as truth, righteousness and justice, were emphasised. Yet secular philosophers also insisted upon the importance of virtues

not only for the good life of individuals but for the well-being of society and the state (Himmelfarb, 1995). According to Himmelfarb the concept "value" in its present sense comes from 1880s as Friedrich Nietzsche began to speak of "values" instead of "virtues", connoting the moral beliefs and attitudes of a society. *"His 'transvaluation of values' was to be the final, ultimate revolution, a revolution against both classical virtues and the Judaic-Christian ones. The 'death of God' would mean the death of morality and the death of truth – above all the truth of any morality. There would be no good and evil, no virtue and vice. There would be only values'."* (Ibid.)

"Values" brought with it the assumptions that all moral ideas are subjective and relative, that they are mere customs and conventions, that they have a purely instrumental, utilitarian purpose, and that they are peculiar to specific individuals and societies. And, as Himmelfarb continues, in the current intellectual climate, to specific classes, races and sexes (Himmelfarb, 1995). Global ethics can be one ground for transnational value discussion.

We may ask, is there some basis for universal values that would be considered more or less objective? The Institute of Global Ethics states: *"After more than a decade of doing research across the globe, we have discovered that while different people use different words to voice their values, the concepts nearly always can be distilled into a set of five or six shared values with a common subset: compassion, fairness, honesty, respect, and responsibility".* (Institute of Global Ethics, 2007)

One of the main differences in the understanding of values is whether by values one is referring to mere preferences, beliefs and attitudes or is there a moral assessment included. Rokeach (1973, 6-7) suggests three categories of values: existential beliefs, which determine whether something is right or wrong; evaluative beliefs which determine whether something is good or bad; and beliefs which determine whether or not a certain activity is acceptable. The current definitions in general are far more relativistic: values are seen as mainly as subjective preferences.

Already Rokeach made lists of values which were supposed to be comparable and measurable so as to put them into order of importance. The universal value theory of Schwartz (1992; 1994) continued on this, in the first hand socio-psychological – not philosophical – understanding of values as personally or socially desirable subjective goals. It does not take a stand concerning good or bad, right and wrong. Instead, the choice of values presented in the dimensional categories is referenced like the values being equal.

Value subjectivism (in practise synonymous to value relativism) is a view, which sees values as mere subjective beliefs, preferences or attitudes. This seems a very remarkable trend in postmodern way of thinking and reflexive identity (see more Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992). Absolute standards or norms have diminished in this kind of thinking. Nothing seems to be objectively and universally valuable.

An individual or a community decide only in their minds what is valuable. Value subjectivism makes a clear difference between value arguments and fact arguments. Value arguments cannot be true or untrue, right or wrong. They are matters of taste, which people may disagree without getting into clash with each other.

Values are also related to the meaning of life. The uncertainty of today's world, as not giving sure prospects of decent jobs, peace and place in the society for adolescents, leaves many of them without hope and perspective. This situation is common even among the "healthy" population and especially obvious for youngsters with long term difficulties.

There is a specific need to support young people to gain trust for life and find meaning (Lindh, Gashi & Hämäläinen, 2005). Viktor Frankl pointed out for years the problems of young people in integrating into society and the danger of mass neurosis by hopelessness and emptiness. Frankl says that the man's search for meaning is a primary motivation of our existence and one that gives us a reason for living in spite of life's difficulties. The primary message is: *"You have right and it is your responsibility to search for purpose in your life, in work, in human relationships and in values."* (Frankl, 1963; 1975).

Value changes concerning world views and multiculturalism

Values can be defined in reference to world views. Some world views are based on absolutes existing, like Judaism, Christianity (excluding the liberal lines) and Islam, some are not, like the eastern religions, secular Humanism, New Age and all materialistic world views. A great clash can be expected between world views that do have absolutes and those that do not.

In our multicultural world where intercultural communication has quickly increased, we need to seek answers to understand these clashes. Samuel Huntington, in his analysis (1996), presents that the biggest sources of conflict are mainly due to cultural differences. Thus, Western nations will lose predominance if they fail to recognize the irreconcilable cultural tensions.

Huntington (ibid.) identifies seven, or possibly eight, major civilizations: Western, Latin American, Islamic, Sinic (Chinese), Hindu, Orthodox, Japanese and the African. According to Huntington (ibid.) international order based on civilizations is the best safeguard against war and conflict and for peace. Huntington's analysis has faced criticism in many aspects; however, it offers one vehicle for understanding main cultural world view differences and tensions.

On the other extreme, Multiculturalism is a controversial concept used in numerous different ways. Enthusiastic multiculturalism, or pluralism, aiming towards open tolerance and integration, has become a very popular and prevalent view associated to civic and diversity values in multicultural world, especially in many western societies.

Swedish social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (2003) criticises this approach in its very ideological form, sometimes seen leading to a "multicultural inferno", as not being able to give a genuine alternative to the "cultural fundamentalism" of Huntington. The latter is seen as a static view with emphasis on conflict and leading to xenophobia. The opposite, uncritical multiculturalism, on the other hand denies

real existing differences and the needs of changes in the society and in individuals. Hannerz (ibid.) sees culture rather as a process and far more complex in its different dimensions and implications. Derived from his process view of cultures, Hannerz (ibid.) points out the free choice of an individual to have impact on, to change or even reject his culture as a part of "a right to one's own culture".

The previous approach, distinct civilizations with their own cultures clashing towards outside world (strong nationalism), obviously seeks to answer the question of maintaining order even if the cost would sometimes be high. The idealized, strong multiculturalism approach is based on an ideology of freedom and tolerance as the main value. In both extremes, the end result may lead to either chaos or the most powerful groups finally taking dominance.

To reach balance, sound consideration of justice, compassion and truth need to be added to mere tolerance. There is always some tension between undefined tolerance (tolerance as the highest value) and human rights, as well as there is tension between equality and respect of diversity. Yet without tolerance we would end up with racism which may be seen as one of the greatest tragedies of the globalization. Learning to see the world from another person's point of view and to build confidence are basic elements in cultural competence.

Racism is an increasing problem among adolescents and a most relevant question connected with youth value changes in this multi-cultural world. Not only are childhood and adolescence crucial phases in developing of an individual's thinking but also some of the most racist groups may be found among youngsters. This is the case in Finland.

According to national studies the most reserved attitudes towards ethnic minorities were found among boys aged between 15 and 17 and elderly pensioners (Ihmisoikeusliitto/ Finnish League for Human Rights, 2005). On the other hand, this may well be the case with young people who never even had any contact with a foreigner or a person representing a group considered "different". Just one personal contact

may change the thinking quickly (Gashi & Lindh, 2004). It would be misleading to consider cultures and ethnic groups as something like unchanging, homogenous entities.

The dividing lines of "otherness" do not go between ethnic groups, nationalities, cultures or civilizations but also within one's own society, culture and group which might have influences for identity formation in individual or collective level. Research as well as practise has shown that emotions play a most vital role in reducing intergroup tensions (e.g. Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000) and thus also racism.

Emotional literacy is shown to be not only an individual quality but as well social (Park, 2003). Anxiety caused by social tensions and other difficult emotions, can be understood & become transformed into productive energy. Empathy and recognition of one's own emotions can be seen interconnected with values, such as sense of justice. There can be no trust without integrity.

All religions and ideologies have so far failed to uproot racism. Yet in our history we have seen some successes in efforts towards more equality and freedom. In the Northern countries we have been accustomed to expect certain civic rights, not only equality but also security for all citizens, though many changes, not all of them good, and more polarization have taken place in a few recent years.

In the Northern countries, as in the Western world generally, legislation and the system of justice have been based for centuries on the Judeo-Christian foundation, deriving their concepts of right and wrong from an absolute standard outside human arguments, a universal basis for equality in front of law. In spite of race, gender, wealth and other qualities all people have been seen created with unique individual worth.

That is, despite of anyone's personal beliefs or religion, people from whatever cultural or ethnic background or social status have been supposed to be treated indiscriminately with equal respect and dignity. Reciprocally they are expected to treat others with justice, mercy and truth, not raising oneself above others.

The practise is not always that beautiful, as there is freedom of choice for every individual, but there are standards however. The "Golden Rule" of "doing to others what you would have them to do to you" is of universal heritage, recognized in several major religions and cultures, a basic principle which simply means "treat others as you would like to be treated." It is an essential basis for the modern concept of human rights and for global ethics.

A specific challenge is raised by the changing economic, social and psychological atmospheres of our societies. As security and traditions are perceived to be threatened on many levels, a question is how young people are able to find a basis for orientation and identity formation. Obviously we are on a verge of a new era as for the single value of economic determinism by the rapid economical change worldwide, currently accelerated. Determinism, as biological reductionism, sees no real freedom of choice for human being: everything is determined by some outside factor like in a machine. It may leave young people very frustrated, lacking any sense of meaning and purpose or reason to try influence the world around, even issues in their own life.

The term "civic" refers to social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy (see Wray & Flanagan, 2009; The Active Learning Active Citizenship project, 2009). Social and moral values like democracy, equity and justice are often taken for the goals of good "citizenship" and "civic education" (Galston, 2001). "Diversity" in civic education refers to the differentiation like process: separation of me or us from others and the potential to overcome these cultural and collective boundaries. We try to show further that civic and diversity values, especially social and moral responsibility values, are essential when examining adolescents' attitudes towards co-existence of different minorities, like immigrants.

Adolescents' attitudes towards cultural changes and minorities have usually been tried to understand in two different ways. The approach which emphasizes the readiness for change considers that the young people usually are distinct from the chains of cultural

traditions and the change in the world will become possible through this liberality of the adolescents, in particular (see Ziehe, 1991). This might be favorable for cultural integration approaches. According to the second viewpoint the adolescents' attitudes could be understood in the light of the present day cultural atmosphere. In that case the young people will react for example to different ethnic groups with the similar kinds of patterns which others, like conservative elderly people, use when resisting the change. The latter atmosphere might be favorable for strong nationalism and discrimination like approaches.

Changing youth values and identities

Some youth studies have shown a strong polarisation phenomenon concerning well-being of youngsters: some are doing quite well in their life while others are in a danger of having different kind of social problems and in a risk of exclusion (Robb, 2007; Thomson, 2007b). This has consequences in how young people today orient to value and world view questions. Finland is an example of a Western country where the structural changes from a rural society into urban, industrial society took place later than in most European countries. Finland used to be considered one of the safest societies of the world, well-known for its unique combination of a high-tech information society and a welfare state, much praised by sociologist Manuel Castells (Castells & Himanen, 2002).

The situation has changed radically since and we have witnessed two tragedies of school shooting within the two last years 2007-08. The first one took place at Jokela on 7 November 2007. Nine people died. The perpetrator of the massacre made his philosophy wide open in YouTube and in his web journal. He described himself as "anti-social social Darwinist", "godlike atheist", "cynical existentialist" and "antihuman humanist". As his heroes he mentioned among others

Friedrich Nietzsche, Charles Darwin, Adolf Hitler and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. He said that hatred was the only thing he loved in this life. (Documents on his internet media package and videos listed in Wikipedia 2009.)

Most people would say that the values and deeds of the shooter were sick, bad and wrong. In the public discussion many possible reasons for these crimes have been raised, such as mental problems, media violence, loneliness and too theoretical and heavy school curricula. The philosophical thinking alone can be seen sufficient to explain the deeds: Why live, if there is no purpose for man, no God, no meaning. Why not kill and die if there is no truth, no right and wrong, no good and bad but whatever choice of values is equal? Young people are often black-and-white and they may act upon their philosophy with crystal clear consistence.

One might ask aren't there justifications for a thorough re-evaluation of our value systems as well as educational goals and methods. Do our school systems give space and material for assessment of different values and world views and for the identity building of the youngsters? Appleyard (1992; 2004) criticises the liberal "scientific world view" of irresponsible youth education: *"Tolerance becomes apathy because tolerance in itself does not logically represent a positive virtue or goal…The fact that the democracies constantly seem to have a crisis in their schools is important – it is a symptom of crucial uncertainty about what there is to teach, about whether there is anything to teach. At the heart of this spiritual problem lies the lack of a sense of self. Just as scientific liberalism holds back from the moral or the transcendent, so it also holds back from providing the individual with an awareness of his place in the world."*

There are different levels and layers in learning and development towards citizenship in multicultural world which can be examined with the help of collective identity formation. Göran Therborn (1995, pp. 229-232) has presented a useful classification where three phases can be identified in identity formation of communities: differentiation,

self-reference (or self-image) formation and recognition of others. Differentiation means separation of the potential me or us from others. This is achieved through two aspects, namely experience of an other and discovery of a self. Differentiation is a social construction of a boundary. In modern societies this could be seen as the outcome of competition of possible demarcations. Therborn (ibid.) makes a remark that this is also a negotiation of the issue of community (group) or individuals aggregating.

Differentiation is driven by the growth of internal resources through participation in communities of concrete life-world, or of a historical potential community; a growth process of internal resources becoming more equal, more resourceful, and more autonomous. Self-reference formation is identification with something after an awareness of separateness. Therborn (ibid.) argues that self-reference or -image may be constructed in the potential community through a common competence or task like speaking same language or having particular education or holding certain common values or insights – Christian, Muslim, socialist, liberal, humanist or other. Identities of common origin or ancestry have proved to be most powerful in history. So Therborn (ibid.) argues further that collective identities based on ideologies of inclusion/exclusion are more antagonistic than identities deriving from positional differentiations like division of labour or organizational hierarchies. The third one, recognition of others, refers to the critical moment that collective identity is being acknowledged and recognised by others. Recognition by others may also precede differentiation. Therborn (ibid.) claims that discriminatory recognition may provide the impulse for stronger collective identity.

Anti-Semitism and the defeats of universalist projects have aroused the Zionism movement and other forms of Jewish ethnic identities, for instance. The process of recognition may have some power and status related questions as well. In the modern theory of professions, for instance, identity of a particular category of people as the only legitimate possessors of a certain kind of knowledge is taken

as crucial. So politics of recognition has some significance in identity formation. On the basis of collective identity conceptions Therborn (ibid.) states that otherness has a certain kind of primary nature in relation to sameness. This distinction of others shapes identities and values of individuals strongly. Adolescent's values and world views are formed in the experiences they have with different cultural groups and people. This shapes their conceptions of collectives and groups, what they don't want to be, and where they want to belong to.

In a changing world where common and collective values are fragmented the identity formation at the individual level is very reflexive. This also brings its own special tone to the discussion of the universalness of values. The reflexive self is promoted by Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) as a model of postmodern universal self. Beck (ibid.) makes a notion that although individuals are unable to escape structural forces in societies in general, they can decide on which forces to act and which ones to ignore. This does not create a free individual; rather, it creates individuals who live out, biographically, the complexity and diversity of the social relations which surround them.

Beck (ibid.) argues that self is a biographical production and it is a development of a new universal 'life politics' where individuals search to create a coherent biography in a fractured world. Self becomes a project on which to work in order to produce some sense of coherence. Looking at biographies of youth in late modernity more closely gives a picture of different kinds of paths in identity formation: "normal" or many alternative paths (Thomson, 2007a). Alternative paths and 'life projects' might mean atypical choices of life-style, taste, outlook, hobbies, friends or careers in youth.

Civic and diversity values
in a core of citizenship in a multicultural world

How civic and diversity values represent our ideas and thoughts about citizenship (or identity) in a globalizing, multicultural world? It can be said that young people are like "a mirror of their societies"; if you look at what youngsters today think and how they live it also tells something about the present change and attitudes towards diversity of civic questions. Earlier peoples' world views can be seen based on traditions and local collectivity while youth today represent a different, individualized generation which is actively creating different kind of world views for themselves. Harinen (2005) makes a notion that young people today will meet and communicate with other cultures through their whole life cycle, unlike the elderly people, who are just learning the attitudes and ways of action in the more multicultural environment. The multicultural life-world in youth does not only mean internationality, frontier crossings, travelling and hybrid identities but fields of new conflicts, uncertainties and tensions also.

Wray and Flanagan (2009) state that when linking values to civic (and identity) development a concept of social contract seems to be highly relevant. The social contract refers to the way that people perceive their relationship to society; how for instance youngsters view the world and others in it. It means the relationship of how personal identity and views connect to communal and societal collective identities and views. Wray and Flanagan (ibid.) deliberate to what extent do young people feel a sense of allegiance, and how do they conceive of the obligations of governments or individuals (in local communities) to each other. Central to the concept of the social contract are feelings of reciprocity and the ties that bind people together and how boundaries between different communities and ethnic groups might be constructed.

For present day youth the 'identity politics' between similarness and otherness seem to be very important. Both for youngsters of

majority and ethnic minorities such as immigrants cross-culturality belongs in one way or another to the present day life-world. This determines what life is in or outside school in the textures of social networks and youth cultures. (Harinen, 2005) Civic and diversity values in this connection can be understood as what young people think on different ethnic groups and their co-existence, what are young people's attitudes towards difference in general, what are their attitudes towards racism and discrimination in particular, and how do youngsters value equity and equal opportunities for different minorities or cultural groups.

When comparing to Schwartz's value scale on self-transcendence versus self-enhancement, this dimension of values seems to reflect the extent to which an individual endorses public interest or just self interest, respectively, the personal hierarchy of value preferences (Wray & Flanagan, 2009). Valuing self-transcendence is convergent with the appreciation of benevolence and cooperation with others, while valuing self-enhancement suggests a competitive view towards others and other groups (ibid.). Schwartz (1994; 2007) has demonstrated that these are opposing value orientations and these seem to connect on the social contract of diversity and differentiation of others.

Ethnicity often serves as a vehicle for mechanisms of social inclusion or exclusion and is interwoven with the sociocultural structures where people live. It is worth noticing that in overall conceptions on multiculturalism may have changed during the last decades. In 1970s and 1980s multiculturalists argued that all cultures ought to be treated equally and ethnic minorities supported. In their view, ethnic minorities will only give their contribution to the society on the basis of strong and confident minority cultures, appreciated and promoted by the nation states. For multiculturalists, the integration of immigrants was thus achieved by double socialisation: they first need to be socialised in their own cultures before they could feel part of the receiving society (see Janmaat, 2008).

This kind of conception on multiculturalism was gradually fading towards the close of the millennium. Increasingly it was believed that immigrant cultures easily isolated and marginalised ethnic minorities rather than encouraged their integration in society. One could call interculturalism as an approach that supports the incorporation and democratic participation of migrant groups in the wider society (Gundara, 2000; Janmaat, 2008). Interculturalist mindset is also trying to avoid the nation-centered bias of world view (like patriotism and self-enhancement).

Janmaat (2008) finds in his survey data comparison between five West European countries (Belgium, England, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland) that migrant youth generally are almost as supportive of civic values as the ethnic majority. However, they do not adopt the civic values of patriotism, institutional trust and gender equality to the same extent as the dominant majority group. In addition, he argues further that differences between the two groups on gender equality and to some degree also on institutional trust disappear when social background variables are controlled for.

This leads to the conclusion that differences between the groups in the learning of civic values depend more on social differences than cultural ones. Migrant cultures as such are not solely obstructing the adoption of these values. Civic values are likely to be more common in Western cultures than in migrant cultures of other origins. It is often assumed that ethnic minorities may have an underdeveloped civic consciousness. However, Janmaat (ibid.) makes a further conclusion based on the survey findings that ethnic minority adolescents are likely to benefit more from civic education in schools than the majority group.

International comparison of youth civic and diversity values

Whose voice is heard?

Several value related researches on youth values and diversity issues in multicultural world have been conducted during the last decade (for instance concerning Finland and near regions Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Helve, 2005; Iskanius, 2006). Within transnational comparative research frameworks have been examined, for instance, the integration of immigrants, family background influences, adaptation in schooling, and further ethnic and language identity issues.

A frequently used starting point has been the concept and theory of acculturation (see Berry 1990; 1997; see also Korhonen in this volume) which refers to the intercourse between people of diverse cultural backgrounds and how they act in contacts with each others, for example when a group of Russian-speaking young people moves to Finland (see Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Acculturation is understood as a two-way process in the situations of cultural intercourse which changes both groups which participate in it (Berry, 1990). The ethnic identity and diversity are understood as the pith of the acculturation which determines other phenomena related to the processes around acculturation. The ethnic identity is a subjective process, social contract, which strength varies individually, which can be individually chosen and which significance for the person should be taken into consideration. (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000.)

According to Berry (1990; 1997; see also Korhonen in this volume) the process of acculturation may have four different kinds of results from the point of view of immigrants (or other minority): integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization. Integration means that immigrants want to maintain good contacts with majority and society, but they respect and cherish also their own ethnic cultural backgrounds and traditions. Assimilation means an adaptation to the

life style and culture of dominant population where origins of own ethnic roots gradually disappear. Separation in turn means much stronger orientation into own ethnic cultural roots and separation from dominant population and their cultural influences, while marginalization means separation from both: own ethnic roots and majority dominant population influences.

Youth research has lately concentrated much on examining minority's voice. It might be worthwhile to look also majority youth values and opinions concerning acculturation of ethnic minorities and diversity. According to John Berry's (1990; 1997) acculturation model integration of immigrants and positive attitudes towards diversity among the majority population assume a willingness to establish relationships with minority cultures.

Appreciation towards their language and particularity is needed as well, and readiness to accept equal chances for minorities to participate into different areas of societal life (in education, work, leisure time activities, health care, political parties, civic associations and others).

The following youth civic and diversity value comparison example is based on an empirical data set source: the IEA Civic Education Study Data 1999–2000 and nationally representative samples of 14–19 -year old students in 28 countries. IEA is an International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement and this study has been the largest effort ever to study civic education internationally among adolescents.

The broad survey instrument originally consisted of five types of items measuring the students' knowledge of fundamental principles of democracy; their skills in interpreting political communication; their concepts of democracy and citizenship; their attitudes related to trust in institutions, their nation, opportunities for immigrants, the political rights of women; and their expectations for future participation in civic-related activities. The sample for the comparison here is taken from 9 countries participating in the original IEA Civic Education

survey including Finland, Denmark, England, Switzerland, Greece, Russian, Hungary, United States, and Hong Kong.

Majority youth values concerning nationalism versus integration of ethnic minorities

In the IEA Civic Education data set there are some questions which are useful in this connection for more detailed inspection of respondents' values and attitudes concerning equal chances of different minorities and cultural groups or, on the other end, a stronger national pride and identification.

One can think that very strong national pride and patriotism form in the opinions of majority adolescents a stronger negative counterforce and antithesis towards cultural variety and diversity. For example Janmaat (2008) discusses that the positive attitudes of majority toward one's nation are feeding ideas of a uniform, strong and monolithic culture where it is difficult for different minorities and ethnic groups to define their positions. The differentiation (collectively) from others is emphasized in this orientation, and as an acculturation attitude this produces easily pressures for assimilation, separation or even marginalization to the ones representing immigrant and minority groups.

As an alternative for strong nationalism (and patriotism) one can consider diversity and equity oriented attitudes which are closely connected to integration endorsement as presented earlier. In the basic values and acceptance of diversity the cultural differences and co-existence of diverse ethnic groups are understood to be normal, and adolescents are more compliant to accept equal possibilities for different groups, for instance supporting the right for preserving minority language and cultural particularity. Some earlier studies have suggested strong connections between basic values supporting

integration and good adaptation of immigrants in their host country (Snauwaert et al., 2003). Often this has also proved to be the main acculturation choice favored by the majority population.

When examining the value atmosphere between nationalism and integration of immigrants, two sum variables were constructed for integration and nationalism scales. Firstly, appropriate questions from IEA Civic Education instrument where chosen for closer review and with Principal Component analysis such components (factors) where searched for which seemed to best describe integration orientation and on the other hand nationalism orientation. The principal component analysis produced a neat two factor solution in one country sample (Finland) which could be then applied to the whole nine country sample in this comparison. Questions with best factor loadings where chosen into these two scales. Cronbach alfa reliability rank for the integration orientation scale was 0,867 and for the nationalism orientation 0,573. So these two scales appeared to be sufficient for transnational comparison.

Integration orientation included questions concerning respondents' attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities and their rights:

1. Have the same rights than everyone else
2. Have the opportunity to vote
3. To keep their own customs and lifestyle
4. Have opportunities to keep up their own language
5. Teach students to respect ethnic members
6. Ethnic groups should have equal chances for education
7. Ethnic groups should be encouraged
8. Forbidden to engage in political activities (inversely related to the other items)
   (strongly disagree – disagree – agree – strongly agree)

In transnational comparison this integration orientation scale shows some interesting emphasis between disagreement, agreement and strong agreement (see Table 1). These differences between countries are also statistically very significant (p = 0.000) in Pearson Chi-Square test. Integration was expected to be the major acculturation attitude among majority youngsters but strong, uncharged agreement was not as common anywhere as mid-level agreement. However, the IEA Civic Education studies have demonstrated that the agreement of integration grows and conceptions on democracy are diversifying at older age groups of young people (Amadeo et al., 2002; Husfeldt & Nikolova, 2003). United States (30,4 %), Greece (28,6%), Hong Kong (27,1%), England (22,4 %) and Finland (22,0 %) where the highest in "strong agreement" attitudes. United States as a melting pot of different cultures and as a target country of immigrant floods, Hong Kong as a cross-road of Asian and Western cultures, and Greece as a country strongly dependent on tourism and travelling seem to differ from others in their more favorable attitudes for integration of immigrants.

On the other edge were those two countries where "disagreement" (strongly disagree + disagree) attitudes raised over 20 % level: Switzerland (26,5 %) and Denmark (21,6 %). Large majority of the respondents in different countries chose the mid-level agreement alternative. This large majority respondent group might probably be the group willing to move in their opinions and valuations towards either stronger agreement or disagreement depending on situation. This is better to keep in mind when evaluating changing conditions and effects of economic, politic and social trends in the circumstances of globalization.

This might be true in different countries and in their youngsters' valuations towards ethnic minorities and diversity. Longitudinal studies have shown that youth values and identities might change according to global or local changes (see more Helve, 2005). Youth is the most important period of searching identity in human life-cycle (Eriksson 1968) so young people are exposed to influences.

Table 1. Crosstabulation of adolescents' integration orientation in chosen countries.

		INTEGRATION ORIENTATION				
		Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**	**Total**
COUNTRY	Denmark	90	587	1862	607	3146
	%	**2,9%**	**18,7%**	59,2%	19,3%	100,0%
	England	25	345	1806	628	2804
	%	0,9%	12,3%	64,4%	**22,4%**	100,0%
	Finland	37	302	1811	605	2755
	%	1,3%	11,0%	65,7%	**22,0%**	100,0%
	Greece	8	281	2158	982	3429
	%	0,2%	8,2%	62,9%	**28,6%**	100,0%
	Hong Kong	14	276	3087	1254	4631
	%	0,3%	6,0%	66,7%	**27,1%**	100,0%
	Hungary	39	465	2370	293	3167
	%	1,2%	14,7%	**74,8%**	9,3%	100,0%
	Russian	8	160	1678	281	2127
	%	0,4%	7,5%	**78,9%**	13,2%	100,0%
	Switzerland	128	687	1678	590	3083
	%	**4,2%**	**22,3%**	54,4%	19,1%	100,0%
	USA	36	208	1648	826	2718
	%	1,3%	7,7%	60,6%	**30,4%**	100,0%
	Total	Count	385	3311	18098	6066	27860
		%	1,4%	11,9%	65,0%	**21,8%**	100,0%

The other chosen scale, *nationalism orientation*, included items related to positive attitudes toward one's nation and patriotism like opinions:

1. To be patriotic and loyal citizen
2. Patriotic and loyal to the country
3. People should support their country
4. This country deserve respect from other countries
5. Prefer to live permanently in another country (inversely related to the other items)
   (strongly disagree – disagree – agree – strongly agree)

In the transnational comparison of nationalism orientation there were not so many countries where a strong agreement is prevailing. Only Greece was an exception and there the level of strong agreement was even 36,8% (more than one third of youngsters supporting strongly nationalism) and correspondingly disagreement (disagree or strongly disagree) was very low (only 6,8%). In Finland and Russian the strong agreement level was approaching 20% endorsement, but in both cases also disagreement (disagree or strongly disagree) level was a little bit higher going over 10%.

The case of Greece (and to some extent Finland as well) is contradictory when compared with integration orientation scale. Research data doesn't give clues to reflect this finding more deeply, but in general one can believe that the Greeks' case might show some connections to the country's geo-political history and tensions between neighbor nations. It is good to keep in mind that value and world view questions are always being coloured according to the changing economic, political, social and psychological atmospheres in society as discussed earlier.

On the other edge in the nationalism orientation scale were England, Hong Kong and Switzerland, where disagreement (disagree or strongly disagree) levels were clearly over 20%. When compared to integration orientation the disagreement emphasis in England and Hong Kong seems quite logical: where values are generally towards integration acceptance correspondingly disagreement of strong nationalism is also lower. But again one country, Switzerland, made an exception. There the both orientations are dominant concurrently: the disagreement of nationalism and the disagreement of integration. Again one can search the explanation from the country's geo-and sociopolitical history, which shows that Switzerland as a country has developed to several canton areas which each have its own constitution, parliament, government and courts. Within the cantons, numerous local communes also enjoy a certain degree of autonomy. So this kind of geo- and sociopolitical structure might color adolescents'

opinions towards both issues: strong integration acceptance or strong nationalism.

However, also in the nationalism orientation scale, large majority of the respondents in different countries emphasized the mid-level agreement alternative.

Table 2. Adolescents' nationalism orientation in comparison in the chosen countries.

NATIONALISM ORIENTATION							
		Strongly disagree	Dis-agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total	
COUNTRY	Denmark %	23 ,7%	555 17,6%	2200 69,8%	376 11,9%	3154 100,0%	
	England %	45 **1,6%**	688 **24,0%**	1781 62,1%	352 12,3%	2866 100,0%	
	Finland %	19 ,7%	314 11,4%	1889 68,3%	543 19,6%	2765 100,0%	
	Greece %	11 ,3%	225 6,5%	1941 56,3%	1269 **36,8%**	3446 100,0%	
	Hong Kong %	36 **,8%**	1019 **21,6%**	3399 72,0%	270 5,7%	4724 100,0%	
	Hungary %	12 ,4%	432 13,6%	2378 **75,1%**	344 10,9%	3166 100,0%	
	Russian %	3 ,1%	225 10,6%	1487 **70,0%**	409 19,3%	2124 100,0%	
	Switzerland %	56 **1,8%**	776 **25,1%**	1945 **62,9%**	315 10,2%	3092 100,0%	
	USA %	23 ,8%	438 15,9%	1915 69,6%	377 13,7%	2753 100,0%	
	Total	Count	228	4672	18935	4255	28090
		%	,8%	16,6%	67,4%	15,1%	100,0%

The transnational comparison of the emphasis shows illustratively that integration or nationalism do not, in the respondents' values and attitudes, stand for the opposite ends of the same continuum. Rather they seem to be separate dimensions which are a little differently present in different sociocultural connections.

The appreciations of the majority population can supposedly move simultaneously to the same or to separate directions on the integration or on the nationalism orientation. The respondents' choices in different countries will become much more understandable through this kind of double scale interpretation.

Civic and diversity related attitudes seem to have a strong connection to the integration approval. Generally girls might be slightly more positive than boys for the integration of immigrants in different countries. Especially in the Nordic countries (Finland, Denmark) gender (female) was the best explainer variable for the integration orientation (Sig. p = .000). This finding is similar than in other studies from Finnish adolescents' attitudes towards multiculturalism (see Harinen, 2005).

Correspondingly, in Greece, Hong Kong, England and United States the 'diversity attitude' item ("*To understand people with different ideas*") raised as a best explainer for integration orientation (Sig. p = .000). Strong nationalism attitude on the other hand can be preventing the approval of immigrant integration but, however, the connection was not as straightforward as expected. The question seems to be how these two different orientations, integration and nationalism, are balanced in the values and opinions of the adolescents. So it might be worthwhile in the future to look for more detailed where strong nationalism and discriminating declined attitudes are coming from in youth.

One must remember that this research example is only indicative statistical information from those adolescents' opinions that belong to the majority population. As stated earlier, the big majority of the respondents can also very easily move into more positive or more negative directions when the situation changes.

More qualitative research is also needed about the forming of youth values and worldviews, and adolescents' own life-world and meaning making towards sameness and otherness in the multicultural world. As a whole this research example, however, wakes many thoughts and questions concerning education, teaching and learning in the civic education domain and what connections civic and diversity issues might have to acculturation orientations.

Challenges for education, teaching and learning

In this article we have tried to give a glimpse on how crucial and multifaceted is the question of values and world views in transnational contexts, how they shape the life and thinking of youth and, how civic and diversity values of youth is a specific topic as well influenced by many dimensions of value backgrounds and choices. In our conclusions we wish to point out the responsibility of educators and the impact that learning may have for youth on both identity and value awareness and on their construction and re-assessment.

Youngsters often experience lack of meaning of their life and different kind of value conflicts. For instance the appeal of strong nationalism might be rooted in the need of people to feel oneself significant and have meaning. Educators on intercultural competence have to face the question whether or not to give space for real discussion on values. There are different possible approaches: to ignore, concentrating on what is common and general, avoiding to touch any inflammable topics, or to give freedom to openly study any question of values, with equality and respect.

When working with youth groups involving representatives of several major or minor ideologies, world views and religions as their family background and/or personal view, it is hard to try to overlook questions related to values. If a group involves adolescents from

Muslim, Jewish, Catholic and other cultural backgrounds we cannot just deny religion as something irrelevant on a basis of our "scientific" world view.

Talking about world views and religion has often been unnecessarily avoided. On one hand, certain "rules of the game" are an absolute necessity for successful communication. E.g. in a school or in an online learning community we cannot allow certain type of language, such as offensive, threatening or intimidating. On the other hand, we cannot and as we suggest, should not, avoid completely all sensitive or controversial topics.

Why not rather accept there is discussion on world views and open communication but learn and teach respect, and in case we fail to understand each others' emotions or unintentionally seem to offend someone, to learn to ask for forgiveness and to forgive.

It is essential for young people to have a sense of the values that they and their community live by. We cannot rely on families alone to provide this. Schools, teachers, youth workers etc. must take civic education and civic and diversity values into consideration.

We need to teach young people about values in environments where it is safe to explore a range of opinions, where people learn to debate and discuss controversial issues and where it is possible to put at least some of the principles in live. Dialogic teaching and learning is a good way to put this into practice. Moral and democratic participation and dialogue must have a place in school and its' learning community.

Teachers and other adults in or around schools have a wonderful and, in a sense, unique opportunity to give space, encourage and lead the youngsters to question the prevalent "self-evidences" and values presented as determined, "the only alternative", such as economic competition and hard competition on personal achievements and power. Why always competition, why not cooperation? Diversity is celebrated in rhetoric, yet not always in practise. Why always self-centred gaining more instead of the joy of finding a noble enough

goal to fight for and sacrifice something for? Young people love to find their own way. Deterministic thinking may cause them to lose hope and become apathetic, cynic and disinterested. Materialism unchallenged is as narrow thinking as any religion unchallenged, leading to a most reductionist reasoning. Like a famous Jewish rabbi put it: *"What good is it for a man to gain the whole world, yet forfeit his soul?"*(The Bible, NIV).

Social and moral values are interwoven in all aspects of teaching: in the curriculum, in the school culture, and as moral examples in teachers' behavior. Working with values should be an essential part of teaching and learning. For cultivation of tolerance and respect, even pleasure of diversity, the emotional atmosphere of the school is significant. Emotional literacy – to recognize one's own and others' emotions and take them into consideration – is also a central part of intercultural understanding. It can be taught and learned within a community like a school.

Discussion on values in educational contexts and making world views transparent give youngsters a life-long advantage: They learn critical assessment and self-reflection. They start to question prevalent self-evidences and outer appearances. They learn to validate each others' stories, even those from other cultures and far from their own experienced world. They learn to think and they may listen to their hearts and seek truth.

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7

Women, Violence and Citizenship Education: A Comparative Study between India and Denmark

Chaitali Chakraborty

Abstract – This paper seeks to explore the potential for citizenship education in the understanding of violence against women and attempts to investigate whether there is any scope for the inter-relation between the two. Based on a comparative analysis between India and Denmark done mostly from a theoretical perspective the paper would try to comprehend whether a sensitive form of citizenship education focusing on real but usually veiled gender injustices would be able to alert young men and women about the need to engage themselves in fighting such evil practices in their communities. Schools are usually regarded as the facilitator of values that society builds upon in the sense that the values inculcated by schools emphasize on joint responsibility along with individuality. This article will look at the immense impact that the curriculum can exercise in the training on this joint responsibility by making the practices carried on against women visible to all and thereby guiding the individuals to become qualified to share the responsibility in creating a better society to live in. This is thus an effort to identify the rationale of citizenship education in the reduction of gender inequality which is one of the root causes of violence against women.

Keywords: violence against women, citizenship, citizenship education, gender equality, transformation.

Introduction

Marginalisation of women through inequality and exclusion has been a constant source of contention throughout the globe over the past decades leading to a search for new ways of creating an improved world going beyond the hitherto existing ideas guiding the political, social, economic and cultural milieu. A huge amount of empirical research point out to the fact that women, who constitute half of the world's total population, are the worst victims of oppression and abuse throughout the world. Use of violence against women is a violation of their basic human right. Gender inequality which is one of the root causes of violence against women rises from the unequal power relationship between women and men. The trend of continuing violence against women or the differentiating role and status of women and men as regards citizenship is not limited to a particular geographical region. This trend is applicable to South Asian part of the globe as also in Europe. Based on a comparative study between India and Denmark this article has looked at the myth of gender equality existing in society. And it is in this context that the role of citizenship education as a viable tool to contribute to the elimination of violence against women in the society has been examined. This paper has three sections: the first elucidates the concepts of citizenship as well as citizenship education in order to grasp their role in society in an improved manner; the second one deals with an analysis of statistics relating to crimes committed against women in order to understand the present scenario and it is in this context that the role of schools in case of formal setting and the role of communities in imparting citizenship education have been examined in the final section.

Section I

Citizenship has been termed as a contested concept (Banks, 2004), often emphasizing relationship with the state on the one hand and relationship with the society as a whole on the other. The idea of essentially contested concepts is rooted on the premise that there are some 'concepts the proper use of which inevitably involves endless disputes about their proper uses' (Sears and Hughes, 1996, p. 125). Citizenship in a democracy gives membership status to individuals within a political unit; confers an identity on individuals; constitutes a set of values, usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit; involves practicing a degree of participation in the political process and implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures and processes of governance (Enslin, 2000).

Citizenship: Knowledge, Value & Skill

Citizenship designates a status as well as a role. Status refers to the civil, political and social rights for the citizen guaranteed by the state. Role refers to the identity and mental representations which each individual designs for her/himself. The concept of membership, as already discussed, indicates that the issue of citizenship is also concerned with inclusion and exclusion. Our experience shows that societal position and roles tend to determine these rules of inclusion and exclusion in the designated sphere. These roles are then dictated by social relations of unequal power formed on the basis of race, ethnicity, caste, class and gender. Therefore, side by side with the image of equality in citizenship this study indicates that there exists another picture where discrimination and exclusion are the rule.

This line of argument brings us to the concept of gendered exclusion from citizenship. The term 'citizenship' is embedded in power relations; it cannot be regarded as a neutral concept. Citizenship, as representative of social and political relations, is invested with the same power hierarchies that identify social structure and dynamics (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Prokhovnik, 1998; Vogel-Polsky, 2000). This situation points to the fundamental inequalities in the organisation of the society and these inequalities play a crucial role in their being subject to violence. Citizenship, viewed in this light, carries differential meaning for women and men. The issue of violence against women needs to be addressed as a means to advance women's citizenship and to give full meaning to 'A Life Free of Violence' (Correa, 2002).

Since citizenship implies not only rights but obligations as well, in other words, these rights and duties are rights and duties vis-à-vis others (Banks, 2004). Citizen, in this sense, has been termed as a co-citizen that is somebody who lives with others (Korsgaard, Walters and Anderson, 2001). It would be relevant here to refer to Oldfield's (1990) view who has termed the community of which one may be a citizen as the political community. He has identified three constitutive characteristics of an individual within this community. These are autonomy of the individual citizen, friendship or 'concord' and judgement or practical wisdom (Oldfield, 1990). Autonomy can be explained as the potential for self-determination or the ability to decide and act independently. Concord has been explained as a sense of responsibility towards fellow citizens and a sense of mutual interdependence. Judgement has been referred to as the decisions that people make regarding the rules that are to be authoritative and binding on the community as also the decisions which give the community its identity, a term referred to as the 'we' judgements (Oldfield, 1990). A democratic culture is to be devised where individuals in the capacity of citizens can develop these attitudes and behaviour patterns in line with the democratic order.

Three fundamental, mutually dependent categories have been identified in the following figure as the didactic triangle – knowledge, value and skill (Korsgaard et al., 2001). It implies an order where the personal and collective dimensions get merged together thereby indicating an ethical move towards striving a negotiation of conflicts in order to live in harmony with others to the possible extent. Therefore citizenship is more than a status; a societal guarantee of rights. Whether this societal guarantee of rights is being equally applicable to all present in society is a matter of serious concern. Attempts to resolve this matter would certainly have to deal with the question of how equal are the equal rights.
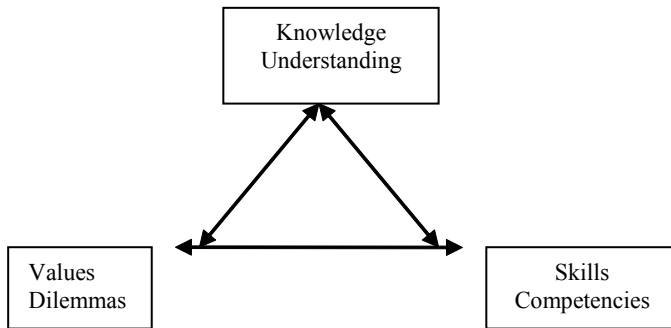
Figure 1. The Didactic Triangle (Korsgaard et al., 2001).

The key areas that can be related to knowledge, skills and understanding are as follows:

- ➢ Developing self-confidence and responsibility and making the most of abilities;
- ➢ Preparing to play active role as citizens; and
- ➢ Developing good relationship and respecting the differences between people.

Scholars like Kymlicka (1995), Castles and Davidson (2000), Gutmann (1987), Rosaldo (1999 cited in Banks, 2004) are of the opinion that citizens of democratic, multicultural societies are required to be committed to the maintenance and perpetuation of the ideals of justice, equality and the like. We shall proceed with the definition of a citizen given by Goncalves e Silva (2004): *'a citizen is a person who works against injustice not for individual recognition or personal advantage but for the benefit of all people. In realizing this task – shattering privileges, ensuring information and competence, acting in favour of all – each person becomes a citizen'* (Silva, 2004 cited in Alberta Education, 2005, p. 197) By saying this, citizen's roles have been clearly spelt out in controlling social, cultural, racial and economic inequality. Becoming a citizen is a process and working for the betterment of the society is also a process that requires continuous effort. And education has a very important role to play in this process of becoming a citizen. Education transmits far more than mere knowledge; it inculcates a set of values and ideas in the minds of the learners. According to the UNESCO report (1996) titled 'Education for the Twenty-First Century', education throughout life is based on four pillars: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be (UNESCO report, 1996 cited in Korsgaard, Walters and Andersen, 2001). The broader our knowledge, the better we can understand the world around us.

Citizenship Education: Why?

Every act of education is a kind of socialisation. To put it simply, education teaches us to live together (Delors et al, 1996 cited in Akar, 2007). My aim here is not to advance education as a magical tool for creating a perfect world; still it aims at reducing the degrees of inequality and war to a great extent (Delors, 1996 cited in Akar,

2007). Scholars regard citizenship education as an essential tool for development (Arnot and Dillabough, 2000). Education in order to be effective must be connected to the reality of world events. Citizenship education refers to the use of education for preparing people to become citizens. This education can be disseminated through the process of formal schooling at any level, or through informal adult education, through the media, through legislation directed to the public. With the passage of time and with the increasing influences of globalization individuals, communities as well as nations are trying to reassess their place in the world. In the process of this reassessment citizenship education has been acquiring a global character where the major areas of thrust have been the rights and responsibilities towards each other; justice and fairness towards one another; freedom and constraint; power and authority; equity and diversity; passive and active participation (Green, 1997).

In this context it would be relevant to mention four core elements of citizenship (Sears and Hughes, 1996). In accordance with citizenship's first element, namely national consciousness or identity, citizenship education works with the aim of achieving not only knowledge but an emotional commitment to or identification with one's nation, a sense of loyalty and duty usually coexisting with other identities like regional, cultural, ethnic, religious, gender, class identity and so on. How these multiple levels of identity can be brought together under one umbrella is a matter of serious concern in education for citizenship.

Political literacy, knowledge of and a commitment to the political, legal and social institution of one's country forms the second element of citizenship education. It implies something more than mere casting of votes. It requires an understanding of key political and social issues and thereby possession of the necessary skills and values for effective political participation.

Observance of rights and duties forms the third element of citizenship education. The fact that every individual tends to overlook that s/he has some duty in relation to his/her fellow individual is manifest

in the irresponsible behaviour that is forwarded against one another in society, be it in the form of racial inequality or gender discrimination. The aim of citizenship education is to train people to resolve any possible conflict between rights and duties.

The fourth element of citizenship education refers to values. Values like equality, solidarity, autonomy and the like are of utmost importance expected to be enjoyed and exercised in relation to others in the society. Besides societal values which are more or less common to a given society there are other universal values, especially of an ethical nature, which can easily create dilemma and conflict. Citizenship education aims to teach the knowledge and skills to deal with value conflict in acceptable ways. It goes without saying that the four elements described above presuppose an adequate level of literacy and intellectual competence.

Connolly (1974) has pointed out that problems regarding citizenship education arise not only because it is an internally complex concept, but also because it is a normative concept. Normative concepts usually do not have a universally shared definition because of the reason that they describe things from a moral point of view (Connolly, 1974). The meaning of citizenship education thus varies a lot. Citizenship education is not so much concerned with the narrow legal definition of citizen as with some normative sense of good citizen (Hughes, 1994 cited in Sears and Hughes, 1996). It is evident from the discussion that citizenship education is a vast field which includes a wide range of philosophical, political and ideological perspectives as well as pedagogical approaches, goals and practices. Underlying all these approaches and perspectives there remains a general agreement that the main aim of citizenship education is the development of good democratic citizens. And it is from this standpoint that the issues of gender, race, class and the like can come in within the purview of citizenship education to find out whether an emancipated individual can contribute to the creation of a social order where cases of violence against women would gradually diminish.

Furthermore citizenship, instead of limiting its activities in the public sphere only equated with the public world of politics and paid employment, should equally focus on the private sphere equated with the private world of home and unpaid labour and thereby recognise both the spheres in an equal capacity. In the twenty-first century the concept of citizenship would accept the fact that the personal is political; and equality which exists in the public sphere is most of the times based on the inequalities in the private sphere.

Scholars (Kymlicka, 2002; Heater, 1999) often distinguish between two frameworks of citizenship: civic republican discourse emphasizing universal active participation and liberal discourse based on individual rights guaranteed by the state. Civic republican discourse highlight a civic identity among young people characterized by commitment to the political community; cooperative participation in activities like voting, involvement with political parties as also civic activities. In the civic republican view, civil society is the now-neglected third sphere of democratic life and the primary sphere for citizenship working with the aim of healing our fragmented contemporary civil society. In accordance with this discourse a weakened civil society results in weak social capital which needs to be rejuvenated by civic education.

Liberalism, on the other hand, is a discourse of individual liberty focussing on the equality or the ability of all people, especially people living in historically marginalized and oppressed groups to fully exercise their freedom in society. Mention must be made of the two predominant discourses within liberal discourse namely Neo Liberalism and Political Liberalism. Neo liberalism, a combination of liberal market ideology and aggressive individualism is not considered as an explicit discourse of citizenship but educators argue that political liberalism envisions a more limited political arena with greater focus on procedures ensuring fair, inclusive deliberation about governance and policy (Gutmann, 2000 cited in Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). According to the liberal conception, citizen, who is also the moral

person, is free, self-originating and responsible in exercising rights and discharging duties. This, of course, should not mean that citizenship teaches to use this freedom as one wishes. It is to be understood as an attempt to say that children should know there are better and worse ways of using their freedom and no one educational authority should totally dominate. It, therefore, calls for a forum where all citizens are treated as equal participants in the process of deliberation. Along with the constitutional and civic rights, John Rawls (1993, cited in Armstrong, 2004) has recognized the cooperative dispositions and shared aims of citizens in a democracy. To achieve this, what is needed is the training in citizenship education whereby students learn to think critically and communicate with power and precision.

Citizenship and Gender Equality

It is estimated that one in every three women worldwide suffers some form of gender-based violence within the course of their lifetime (UN Commission on the Status of Women, 2/28/00 cited in UNIFEM, 2003).Violence against women has been termed as startlingly common with no boundaries of economic status, sexual identity, rural or urban residence, race or religious affiliation, age and so on (Renzetti, Edleson and Bergen, eds, 2001). Inspite of that it has been perceived for a long time as an individual problem and as an isolated incident not worthy of public concern and attention. The result has been that victims of violence suffered in silence. It began to draw attention as a serious social problem in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Renzetti, Edleson and Bergen, eds, 2001). From then onwards, the term 'violence against women' has been used to describe a variety of different behaviours including emotional, sexual and physical assault; murder; genital mutilation; stalking; sexual harassment and prostitution (Crowell and Burgess, 1996).

Gender-based violence, at the structural level is rooted in patriarchy – a system that positions men over women as also other men, instilling a sense of entitlement and privilege in many men. A central reason for the success of patriarchy lies in its ability to naturalize its distinctions (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 35 cited in Chambers, 2005, p. 4). Bourdieu has called this 'habitus' to explain the way in which social norms become embedded in the individuals; it is not a matter of conscious learning or of ideological imposition, but is acquired through practice (Lovell, 2000).

Violence against women, as already stated, happens to be the most under recognised human rights violation (Renzetti, Edleson and Bergen, eds, 2001). What is clearly manifest in this mode of behaviour is sheer irresponsibility on the part of the assailant. And citizenship education can be the answer in this context in the sense that it is the preparation of individuals to participate as active and responsible citizens in a democracy. Working with children and young people in order to break the cycle of violence between generations is what is needed most; working with adults to break the pattern of violence; working with the community to educate against violence are the areas to be developed within the criterion of citizenship education.

Violence against Women & Citizenship Education

The minimum requirement of democracy is that it should be inclusive of all citizens in society. Many countries are nowadays considering the role of education in the creation of citizens in the twenty-first century (Cogan and Derricot, 2000). What is required at this juncture is the creation of 'a generation of men and women who believe that violence is unacceptable and who have the skills necessary to build egalitarian relationships' (Edleson and Eisikovits, 1996, p. 30). Educating the upcoming community could play a crucial part in this regard. Educa-

tion is an arena of hope and struggle – hope for a better life, and struggle over how to understand and enact and achieve that better life (Ayers, 1998, cited in Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). Studies relating to the features characterising women and men often show the existence of gender stereotypes. The process of acquisition of gender stereotype usually begins before the age of five, accelerates during the early school years and is complete by adolescence (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). The process of socialisation is so powerful that stereotypical restrictive gender norms come as a natural course of action. Based on this stereotype women have traditionally been in situations of subordination and dependency lacking identity and rights (William and Best, 1990 cited in Finnan, Schnepel & Anderson, 2003) 27. Education here is to present a counter socialisation in the sense that it would open up the avenues of questioning the hitherto existing practices in the societal set up.

Education and consciousness-raising can only achieve the desired purpose when gender-violence becomes an issue of fundamental importance to people's lives. Mobilisation can only take place when people are willing to act, and people act when they feel the issue to be important and relevant to their lives. The educational process of making gender violence relevant to people essentially does three things:

➢ it challenges people at the individual level to re-examine and change their own views and behaviours;
➢ it builds a larger group of people seeking solutions; and
➢ it creates a base of political support that functions to create pressure for change at the structural level.

Thus the key to success in any strategy, both short and long term, is making gender violence an issue of critical importance to everyone: women; men; the public; the institutions; the state (Schuler, 1992).

Need of the hour is to visualize a model of education for both boys and girls where the first and foremost step would consist of a

firm commitment to the fact that women have a legitimate place as citizens in a democratic society. In the year 1990 Duncan Graham wrote in his foreword to Education for Citizenship (NCC, 1990, cited in Davies & Reid, 2005): '*Education for citizenship is essential for every pupil. It helps each of them to understand the duties, responsibilities and rights of every citizen and promotes concern for the values by which a civilised society is identified - justice, democracy, respect for the rule of law*' (NCC, 1990, p. 1 cited in Davies & Reid, 2005).

According to Article 29 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 education of the child shall be directed to: '*…the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin*' (Article 29, the United Convention on the Rights of the Child, UN General Assembly, document A/RES/44/25 12 December 1989) (Arnot, 2004).

In this declaration emphasis has been put in a system of education which not only highlights the value of citizenship but also of equality of sexes. Through this declaration, education of both male and female citizens is highlighted as being fundamentally linked to the promotion of social justice, social equality and democracy (Arnot, 2004). Educational qualification being a form of social and cultural capital can play a crucial role in the formation of citizens (Bordieu, 1997). Thus the issue of gender equality and the issue of human rights are not separate. At the core of education for citizenship is the assumption that educational experiences will prepare learners for the society which they are to inhabit (Arnot, 2004). This indicates that education shall proceed with the aim of empowering young people leading to empowered adult citizens. In the course of empowering individuals it is to be seen whether boys can be empowered as learner citizens and adult citizens in ways that do not strengthen men's power over women and add to male subordination of women.

Literacy, for Antonio Gramsci (Freire and Macedo, 1987), is a double-edged sword which could be 'wielded for the purpose of self and social empowerment or for the perpetuation of relations of repression and domination' (Freire and Macedo, 1987, p.2). He has termed this conscientization (conscientizacao) or critical consciousness to be understood as something more than a system of oppression characterised by respect for human beings and respect for plurality of voices. Education in this sense would thus help to treat all human beings in an equal capacity. Through this mode of education people will become enabled to bring about a transformation in the society. Freire (1987) calls for critical thinking, also called 'pedagogy of knowing' in education. Literacy, in Freire's scheme of things, is not to be approached as a mere technical skill to be acquired, but rather as a necessary foundation for cultural action for freedom implying 'a self and socially constituted agent' (Freire and Macedo, 1987). It is then to be viewed 'as one of the major vehicles by which 'oppressed' people are able to participate in the socio-historical transformation of their society' (Freire and Macedo, 1987, p. 157).

Education, in this sense, is not just tied to mechanical learning but to a critical understanding of the norms prevalent in society. This new knowledge can 'demythologize' (Freire and Macedo, 1987) the false interpretations seemed to exist in the society. 'As conscious human beings, we can discover how we are conditioned by the dominant ideology… Therefore, we can learn how to become free through a political struggle in society' (Shor and Freire, 1987 cited in Watson, 2007, p. 363). Once understood and acknowledged, this inevitably would lead to deconstruction of the traditionally held cultural norms and beliefs. The work of deconstruction or the process of transformation can be done in an effective manner by the schools as they are the direct reflections of our society. Such an education would consist of going beyond conflict resolution programme in schools to challenging the very definitions of appropriate male and female behaviour and roles. This would require integration programmes on parenting, gender

socialisation, sexuality and relationships into school curricula and community-based programme for out-of-school youths. Therefore not only the mastery of specific skills, education has to become a manifestation of the perfection already in human being in the sense of being a precondition for social and cultural emancipation. This requires a firm commitment to establishing meaningful relationship with others, both in the classroom and in the larger school community, dialogue between all involved – students, teachers, support staff, parents and making a genuine effort to listen to and understand others. The role of the school, the community, the family – all these are evidence of the fact that this is an issue that cannot be addressed by only one segment of society; rather it would require the continuous and constructive effort of all concerned.

Section II

Given the significance of education in social and economic development evaluation of the relative successes and challenges of India and Denmark in the field of education and elimination of violence against women have been undertaken to shed light on the effectiveness of different strategies of these two countries not only for their own benefit but also for the rest of the developing world. What is particularly interesting is that while the Nordic countries have been willing to deal with the structural problems of women's unequal position in the labour market, they have been much more hesitant and slow to deal with another structural problem and that is the problem of violence against women (Bergman, 2008).

The Rhetoric of Gender Equality: Cases from India

This study will take up the two countries one after another. We will see a real life situation and try to find out the rationale for taking up the issue of education in the paper as related to this context. According to a study Gentlemen (2007) only 300 girls have been found for every 1,000 boys among upper caste Hindus in the urban areas of Punjab's Fatehgarh Sahib district in India. The alarming sex ratios can be found in all communities regardless of background, educational level, income, religious affiliation, caste and so on. Hence, female children are initiated to covert violence in terms of sex-selection and overt violence in terms of female foeticide after the use of amniocentesis, ultrasonography. This study shows baby girls who are initiated to discriminatory treatment even before their birth continue to be the victims of various other kinds of maltreatment throughout their lives.

Legislations in India

To cite a few examples from India regarding legislations concerning elimination of violence against women and girls it may be pointed out that with regard to sex-selective abortions India adopted The Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act in 1994 in relation to the regulation of the use of pre-natal diagnostic techniques for the purpose of detecting genetic or metabolic disorders or chromosomal abnormalities or certain congenital malformations and for the prevention of misuse of such techniques for the purpose of pre-natal sex determination leading to female foeticide; and for matters connected therewith. The Act prohibits the use of pre-natal diagnostic tests with the purpose of disclosing the sex of a foetus to a pregnant mother or relatives as also prohibits advertisement for sex selection. Surveys conducted in the past two years in several states have shown

that richer the district, higher the density of ultrasonography centres, and poorer the sex ratio (Amnesty International Report, 2007). It has been estimated by a doctor based on the municipal data that 20,000 female foetuses have been aborted in Delhi, the capital of India in 2004. At a conference on sex selection technologies in Delhi officials said that more than 300 doctors have been prosecuted in India for breach of law which prohibits doctors from disclosing sex of the foetus to the parents, but only four have been convicted. What is noteworthy in this connection is that the doctors fighting against this crime have confirmed that the awareness campaigns aiming at equality of sexes have not worked (Koomaraswamy, 2005, cited in Saravanan, 2000). In view of these severe discrepancies which exist between theory and practice the National Commission for Women (NCW), India has suggested few amendments (NCW, 1994) like all the clinics conducting ultrasound investigation must be registered, the Act should be widely advertised in simple language to reach people at large etc.

One of the first issues to receive countrywide attention from women's groups in India has been 'dowry deaths' (the killing of young married women for the 'dowry' they brought with them in the form of money or goods at marriage) as also rape. Women's movement helped to mobilise support for domestic violence which had for long been supposed to be a private matter to be privately settled and the state responded by changing the law on rape and dowry, making both more stringent. This success story, however, has been soon met with the realisation that mere changes in the law meant little without a will and a machinery to implement these changes. And that the root of the problem of discrimination against women lay not only in the law, or with the state, but was much more widespread. So a further level of work was needed - awareness raising or conscientisation so that violence against women could be prevented, rather than only dealt with after it had happened.

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 has been brought into force in India from October 2006. Under this Act,

domestic violence includes actual abuse or the threat of abuse whether physical, sexual, verbal, emotional or economic. Harassment by way of unlawful dowry demands to the woman or her relatives would also be covered by this definition (Wikipedia, 2008). It contains provisions for providing support to women survivors of violence.

Along with that, a bill to provide for the prevention and redressal of sexual harassment of women at workplaces, or arising during or out of the course of their employment and matters connected thereto in keeping with the principles of equality, freedom, life and liberty as enshrined in the Constitution of India has been signed with the aim of removing all forms of discrimination against women (NCW, 2004). These measures include a host of harmful behaviour directed at women and girls including wife abuse or spousal battering, sexual assault, dowry related violence, rape including marital rape, traditional harmful practices to women like female genital mutilation, honour killing and sexual abuse of female children as also female infanticide, non-spousal violence, forced prostitution and trafficking in women, sexual harassment and intimidation at work and in school as also violence perpetrated or condoned by the state, such as rape in war (CHANGE, 1999).

Scenario of Violence against Women: Denmark

While talking about Denmark it may be pointed out that it is not disturbed by problems of pre-natal sex discrimination, female infanticide and the like. But Denmark seems to be bothered by other difficulties and domestic violence has been a major trouble area. Studies in Denmark have revealed that approximately four percent of all adult women are exposed to some kind of physical violence every year (Ministry of Gender Equality, 2006). In two out of three cases (41,000) current or former partners happen to be the perpetrators

of violence. About 29,000 children aged 0-15 witness their mothers being abused each year. Each year, 2000 women and their children move into shelters (LOKK/(Landorganisation Af Kvindekrisecentre or National Organisation of Shelters for Battered Women and their Children, 2004). Under §(Section) 94 of the Social Service Act, the crisis centres have established working contracts with the counties since 1996 which covers institutions working on groups with special problems (Koch-Nielsen and Caceres, 2004).

Denmark in the year 1999 legalised the sale of sexual services; it is thus no longer a criminal offence to work as a prostitute in Denmark but it is still illegal to earn money from selling the sexual services of others that is procuring and pimping (Blomqvist, 2008). Here majority of trafficking relates to trafficking in women for prostitution although a few instances could be seen where children have been the victims of trafficking (Department of Gender Equality, 2007).

It has been found in Denmark that women from Africa constitute the bulk of street prostitutes; while others are mainly from eastern part of Europe (DCR/ SV 2006). It has been decided by the Danish government for the period 2007-2010 that *Videns-og Koordinationscenter for Menneskehandel* (VKM) or a Knowledge and Coordination Centre for Human Trafficking would be established; three crisis centres would be set up to admit victims of trafficking; the social consequences of human trafficking would be put on the international agenda like the European Union (EU) and Nordic Council of Ministers. And in 2009 all children and atleast 40 percent women registered as having been trafficked into prostitution will be given social assistance in association with the NGOs (Non-governmental Organisations). Moreover 10 percent of the population would have to be made aware of the problems regarding this issue and the necessary measures to be taken by 2009 (Ministry of Gender Equality, 2007). Aliens, who happen to be victims of trafficking, would be subject to the Danish Immigration Service maintenance obligation whereby if they do not have residence permit they would be offered accommodation, health

care and financial help as also will be ensured that they are accepted in their country of origin. Professionals who come in contact with victims shall receive education in human trafficking including the background of the persons trafficked, their rights, socio-pedagogical methods and support options in Denmark. As part of the intensified endeavour, an expanded educational initiative will be implemented within the police force in which combating human trafficking and pimping will be considered an integral part of education.

Legislations in Denmark

The states that have signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) are obliged to work towards elimination of any form of discrimination against women. India ratified the convention in 1993. And Denmark ratified the CEDAW convention in 1983. An act on gender equality has been passed in 2000 in Denmark with the aim of establishing equality of men and women in all spheres (CEDAW, 1979). Specific sections of Danish Criminal Code can be related to dealing with the abusers in crimes committed against women. § 244-246 of the Danish Criminal Code in Chapter XXV entitled 'Offences of Violence against the Person' cover the ordinary violence offences which are normally applied in cases of domestic violence (Koch-Nielsen and Caceres, 2004). Mention may be also made of §213 under Chapter XXIII entitled 'Offences against Family Relationships' which stipulates that (1) any person who, by neglect or degrading treatment, insults his spouse, his child or any of his dependants under eighteen years of age or any person to whom he is related by blood or marriage in lineal ascent, or who, by evading his duties to maintain or contribute to the maintenance of any such persons, exposes them to distress shall be liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years or, in extenuating

circumstances, to simple detention. In 2000, the Public Prosecutor made an announcement that the police have an obligation to start an investigation in cases of domestic violence if there is a reasonable suspicion of violent acts taking place, even if the victim does not report such an act (Koch-Nielsen and Caceres, 2004).

Violence and abuse committed against ethnic minority women from countries such as Turkey, Pakistan and ex-Yugoslavia constitute a significant place in Denmark's agenda (Koch-Nielsen, 2005). Forty-four percent of women at Denmark's shelters have non-Danish ethnic backgrounds and one-third of them are married to men of Danish origin (LOKK, 2003, Annual Statistics). The Action Plan of 2005-2008 aims to make information available to the ethnic minority women in several languages. Integration Programme for ethnic minority women is mandatory if the woman is supported by the community but not so if the husband supports his wife himself. It must be pointed out in this connection that since the children experiencing domestic violence live under grave risk of becoming abusers or being exposed to partner abuse later in life activities are planned keeping this in mind.

The Government's Action Plan against forced marriages, semi-forced marriages and arranged marriages in Denmark (Ministry of Gender Equality, 2005) has set out 21 initiatives aimed at improving integration and increase gender equality, communicating knowledge on key action areas to everybody in contact with ethnic minorities including professionals, General Practitioners (GPs), social workers, health visitors, teachers, child and youth educators etc. (Nielsen, 2005, p.7). To combat such a complicated situation telephone counselling service for young people of minority groups, and counselling for professionals on severe generation conflicts have been set up along with residential accommodation for young women of non-Danish origin who have entered into or are in danger of having to enter into a forced or arranged marriage. The centre that is working under LOKK in this area is *R.E.D* in Denmark. Per contra, in India arranged marriage may be said to be the norm, while it may also be said that

girls and boys often get married to the person of their own choice. And broadly speaking there is not much problem with the concept of arranged or semi-forced marriage as such with a few exceptions here and there. But the problems that occur during the time of marriage or after marriage like the demand of dowry and the resulting murder of the woman, neglect or murder of woman for giving birth to a girl child are many.

Section III

The taboo surrounding violence against women has come a long way both in India and Denmark. What is needed at this point is a continuous activity in this area as also the focus on prevention. This paper proceeds with the basic assumption that education and schooling can be considered as important arenas for addressing these inequalities in the society (Berkovitch, 1999 cited in Skelton, Francis, Smulyan, 2006). A crucial task for education thus 'is to cultivate a sense of being able to make decisions and being able to carry them out - without forgetting the consideration for others' (Gordon, 2006 in Skelton, Francis, Smulyan, 2006, p. 288). Citizenship education would thus include an awareness of gendered power relations which create constraints on autonomy and choice. It is through this initiative that they can become part of the entitlement of every learner.

A Brief Overview of the Education Systems of Denmark and India

Denmark identified education to be one of the most important parameters to cope with the fast changing world and submitted its

National Plan of Action for Education for All (EfA) in 2003 with special reference to integration through education. It is worth noting that there has been a reasonable degree of consensus among political parties regarding strategic issues in the field of education. In various international comparative surveys on educational performance at the institutional level Danish students have shown an average performance with regard to reading literacy, a little above average in mathematical literacy but significantly below average in science (OECD PISA 200) whereas in social science subjects, citizenship (IEA Civics Study) and the like Danish students have retained the first position.

The Danish Constitution stipulates that all children belonging to the compulsory education age (between the age of 7 and 16) have a right to free education in the Danish *Folkeskole* or basic school. The *Folkeskole* is the Danish municipal primary and lower secondary school comprising of a one year pre-school class with no centrally formulated aims or any curriculum guidelines; the only aim is to make the pupils accustomed to the daily school routines (Collier Project, 2006). After completion of the 9th year the 10th form in the school is regarded as a supplement at the time of transition from basic school to upper secondary education. In addition to this, vocational colleges offer all kinds of continuing education and training programmes for adults that are not only in demand by the labour market, but also provide them with general and personal qualifications that open up the individual's potential for lifelong learning and active citizenship (Collier Project, 2006).

While we cannot rely on education systems, be they formal or non-formal, to solve all social, cultural, economical problems in society they certainly have a very significant role in equipping children to live better lives, and thus also preparing them to be more aware of and alert to potential risk situations as well as recovery, if and once they have to encounter a difficult situation. 'Education is, particularly, an important channel through which gender oppressive relations may be addressed and gender equity achieved, thus promoting

development in general' (Okkelmo, 1999, p. 66). But there are many problems within education systems in many parts of the globe that act as hindrances to achieve the desired end. Most of the countries in South Asia including India follow more or less the same procedure where education systems are

> ➢ focused on rote and academic learning;
> ➢ are authoritarian, top-down taking little account of local socio-economic and cultural environments;
> ➢ pay little or no attention to the need for providing livelihood and life skills to the students and thus are not capable of equipping them for the world-of-work;
> ➢ do not reach out to the poorest of the poor and view them from a deficit lens; children from minority groups and remote areas, especially those affected by HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus)/AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) often remain isolated from the education system;
> ➢ girls are often marginalized in the teaching–learning process, curricula and teachers are gender biased and school environments are unsafe and places of sexual harassment from either teachers or fellow male students (Devine & Jensen, 2008).

It has been specified in the Constitution of India that all children (from 6-14 years of age) should have equal access to free and compulsory education while keeping in mind the specific needs of the disadvantaged sections of society. Knowledge of the Constitution, citizens' rights and duties, India's cultural heritage and a spirit of togetherness are considered essential in such a scheme along with protection of environment and conservation of natural resources. The aim of the curriculum has been explained as preparing a child for life in the sense that relevant knowledge is to be imparted and appropriate skills, competencies, moral and social values developed along with creative potential and a scientific approach. It has been

said that the incorporation of human rights and citizens' fundamental duties into the curriculum as well as teacher-education programmes as recommended by Justice Verma's Committee can be an approach to assist pupils learn to live together which happens to be one of the four pillars of learning identified by the International Commission on Education in the Twenty-first Century.

In 1976, education has been transferred to the concurrent list from the state list through a constitutional amendment, the objective being to promote meaningful educational partnerships between the central and state governments. In 1979-80, the Department of Education of the Government of India launched a programme of Non-Formal Education (NFE) for children of 6-14 years age group including drop-outs, working children, children from areas without easy access to schools etc. Under NFE programme, about 40 percent of the centre in states and 10 percent of the centre in union territories are exclusively for girls. The Government has reserved seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (SC/STs) in all areas of education.

Current Action Plan: India

A handbook has been prepared by the NCW titled 'Pre-Birth Elimination of Females' for students of central government schools from Class VIII onwards keeping in mind the necessity of sensitization on issues of female foeticide, social problems like drug addiction, sex and health (The Times of India, 10/04/2008). The possibility of introducing health and physical education as compulsory subject from Class I to Class VIII in India has also been high on the agenda. The best way to educate a teenager in the facts of life is a problem that still continues to haunt contemporary India. A report corroborates to this fact when it is shown that six out of twenty-eight states in India (Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Kerala) have suspended a

new 'adolescence education' programme designed for students between 15-17 years age group in all the state-run schools devised jointly by the Ministry of Education and National AIDS Control Organization (NACO). It is said that information on contraception and sexually transmitted diseases led to the suspension of the curriculum on the ground that the course was capable of corrupting the minds of young people. According to the reports of NACO, one- third of the reported infections in AIDS across India are in the 15–29 age group and 50 percent of all new infections are in this category (Gentlemen, 2007). However, their intention to uphold the rich cultural heritage is not reflected in the official statistics. Delhi, India's capital has earned the title of 'rape capital' with 121 cases of rape registered while about 210 incidents of molestation reported from various parts of the city so far in 2008. It has been reported that in 98.28 percent of 581 rape cases registered in 2007, the accused have been known to the victims interacting with them in the normal course of life. It needs to be made clear that Indian tradition and culture cannot be maintained by hiding facts from a group of people (see Gentlemen, 2007).

Adolescence sexual education has been part of the curriculum under different names like 'Population Education' in 1980, in 1993 'Adolescence Education', in 2001 'Population and Development Education Programmes'. Finally in the Tenth Plan it has been accepted as 'Adolescence education for life skills development' with the hope that pupils can learn about societal norms of compulsory heterosexuality, about their own sexuality, about the 'choices that flow from it and the knowledge, understanding and power to make those choices positive, responsible and informed' (Hanson and Patrick, quoted in Lees, 2000, p 262). It is, therefore, important to sensitise girls and boys towards these issues from a small age.

It is not that actions to curb ill practices and measures aiming at the betterment of women and girls are not coming. The Ministry of Women and Child Development in India has launched a Conditional Cash Transfer Scheme called Dhanalaxmi in March, 2008 aimed at

people below poverty line in seven educationally backward states of India (Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab – 7 educationally backward states in India, Census, 2001) and later extended to the entire nation. In the proposal it has been said that Rs. 5000 (106 USD) will be deposited in the girl's name at the time of registration of birth. An insurance cover of Rs. 1 lakh (212 USD) will be provided to the baby girl at the time of her birth registration where the premium would be paid by the government. Each time the girl is taken for vaccination, at the time of admission of the girl to the school and every year thereafter the government would provide money (Rashtra Mahila, 2008). By this when a girl child is born the family will get money. And as she will go up the ladder they will continue to get more money till she attains the age of 18. While launching the scheme it has been hoped that the girl child would no longer be looked as a liability but as an asset since her very existence would lead to cash inflow into the family instead of drainage of cash associated with her.

Current Action Plan: Denmark

According to the *Folkeskole* Act in addition to the compulsory subjects of Danish, English, History, Social Studies, Mathematics, Science in the basic school in Denmark following topics are compulsory: traffic safety; health and sex education and family knowledge; educational, vocational and labour market orientation. Treating students as independent people with a right to form their own opinions and a duty to participate actively is said to be one of the main characteristics of the Danish educational system. This is encouraged right from kindergarten, through *Folkeskole* and all the way up to the higher education institutions where education itself is regarded as an 'equality-promoting formative tool'. Apart from that, the willingness to

preserve the values and principles within the Danish educational system while at the same time eagerness to learn from other countries has been regarded as one of the crucial features of the system.

Although the concept of citizenship education is not developed as part of the school curriculum it is implied in the term '*demokratish dannelse*' (democratic education) in Denmark. Education for active participation in democracy starts by involving the pupils and making them responsible for the decisions taken at school. The single most crucial element in this context is a change of the roles of traditional teacher and pupil. Teaching in this system travels from being teacher-centred to learner-centred. Therefore, the aim is to give way from the traditional method of classroom instruction to pupils' own activity with the focus on group work, interdisciplinary projects and connection between theory and practice. And the Ministry has initiated a major teacher development project which proves that role of the teacher is also undergoing changes. Besides, it has been decided that all relevant education programmes are to have a green approach from the *Folkeskole* to the longest university programmes and to adult education aimed at creating a generation of environmentally conscious and thereby responsible young people. The subject of environmental studies has also been included as part of the curriculum in India.

Citizenship education has emerged, either as a discrete curriculum subject or as a dimension of the wider school curriculum in the education systems across Europe in order to tackle the problems of younger generation's separation with the political process, concern about social cohesion in diverse societies and the like. It is generally seen that where the term 'citizenship' or its equivalent is not used like citizenship education, civics, social studies, moral education and life skills, in those cases also elements such as democratic values, virtues and political literacy are emphasized (Skeie, 2003 cited in Jackson and Steele, 2004).

'Citizenship education is not simply a matter of knowledge of political institutions…It is a matter of how we think about and behave

towards others, particularly those who differ from us in their race, religion, class and so on keeping in mind the context of integration of Europe with its diverse characteristics' (Kymlicka, 1999, cited in Halstead & McLaughlin, 1999, p. 88). Thus in addition to the teaching of three R's in the school that is reading, writing and arithmetic it is time now to focus on three C's of care, concern and communication with the aim of ensuring gender equality (Hjalmeskog, 1999 cited in Thoresen, 2003). There is a growing recognition nowadays that schools are not the lone sites where citizenship education can take place. In many places students are placed within a community organisation of some sort as part of service learning. The purpose of these programmes is to help students connect to the real issues in their community and at the same time develop their knowledge and skills in democratic participation. We can take account of Holden's (2004) findings which says that knowledge and understanding in primary schools seem to be influenced by discussions about current issues to a great extent (Holden cited in Maitles and Munro, 2004). Although their interest in formal politics is low these young students have been found to be active and interested in issues which relate to the present world and its problems like environment, problems of poverty and others related to the issue of development. Evidence suggests that in terms of classroom approach students have been found to prefer active learning opportunities (Maitles and Munro 2000). In this context we can refer to Hahn's (1998) opinion that with the opportunity to explore controversial public policy issues in a situation where differences of opinion have a place of their own even when they are in disagreement with the teachers and fellow students then the possibilities of developing the required skills for democratic life are higher (Hahn, 1998).

Task of Citizenship Education

Citizenship education, therefore, in order to be effective can begin with a positive view of human nature. Educators would need to ensure that their task is to build on students' strengths rather than operating from a deficit model that aims to 'fix' them (Alberta Education, 2005). If schools could cover themes of gender, equity and violence as an integral component of their curriculum then it can be expected that atleast a step forward has been taken in the prevention of violence. What is needed is, therefore, a continuous reiteration of egalitarian conceptualisations of gender relations throughout their schooling and making visible the undemocratic trends operating within the society. It has been found that the greater young people's acquaintance with equal gender and power relations, and the less legitimate gender-based discrimination in all its forms is, it is more likely that violence will be rejected and its perpetrators ostracized at the societal level (Sundaram, 2007). As I could found out from my discussion with Anne Mau, Director of LOKK that it has been a declared part of their strategy to argue about its inclusion as a mandatory subject in schools. But such an effort is often met with the statement on the part of teachers that there is not enough time to devote to such a topic besides teaching the compulsory subjects in school. Mostly children's initiatives to discuss such issues in the school or in the community are not met with much support. However, there are organisations working for children and youngsters in violent families, who actually visit some schools, show them movies containing relevant messages and try to guide them in many ways in their path to stable lives.

Bringing the gender perspective within the purview of citizenship education would mean that it would talk of equal partnerships between women and men, equal pay, a concept of male duty in relation to domestic work and take up the question of violent acts committed against women and girls in society as an expression of male hegemonic status in society. Along with a focus on these issues it can also provide

a means for girls to acquire a sense of their own agency (Arnot and Dillabough, 2000). Following Arnot's (2004) line of argument, therefore, I would argue that we cannot afford to keep gender equality as just a silent dimension of citizenship education. Social equality then has to be regarded as a goal of citizenship education. Education has been termed as a 'program for social survival' (Walzer, 1983 cited in Lockyer, Crick and Annette, 2003, p. 89) implying that education has to be always relative to the society for which it is designed.

'Education in the contemporary context must be transformative… Both genders must learn that to be socially responsible is not incompatible with being free, that to be successful does not necessarily require aggressiveness, that a true leader does not rule with force. This can only happen within the context of a democratic school culture that replaces slavish allegiance to authority with critical thinking, creativity and flexibility' (Wamahiu, 1996 cited in Arnot and Dillabough, 2000, p.288). Research into violence against women has pointed out the possibility of a link between domestic violence and progress towards equality for women (UNICEF, 1995 cited in Arnot and Dillabough, 2000). The risk of violence seems to rise when the male partners feel that their traditional position of superiority and control is under threat. A gender-sensitive curriculum is not one that simply depicts more females in textbooks; rather it would include the vital skills required to challenge gender and class relations. This calls for a learning programme which would teach human rights as well as legal rights, with a direct focus on conflict and conflict resolution.

Conclusion: A Journey towards Gender Equality

We have seen that as far as Denmark is concerned women and children do not have separate provisions for dealing with violence against them. Existence of such separate provisions is a basic requirement in

Denmark. In the case of India it has already been shown that separate provisions relating to specific crimes committed against women exist. But even then statistics show that such legislative measures are not always effective. So along with the legislative measures what is needed is severe punishment for the abusers. Such severe punishment can act as a major deterrent in the elimination of violence. Above all, participation from the community and intervention from the people can stop violence or help in its reduction. So people's involvement from all quarters of life is an essential prerequisite.

As you sow, so you shall reap – the future generation of the world would learn what we are able to teach them. So selection of the right path and presenting the same before the young generation would ultimately prove crucial to the lives of the entire humankind because, in the ultimate analysis, education is not just concerned with adaptation or adjustment but also with emancipation and autonomy. In other words, it is to be seen whether citizenship education plays an effective role in giving voices to the women of the world.

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Cross-cultural impacts in Higher and Adult Education

8

Academic apprenticeship in cross-cultural settings: Impacts on university learning and teaching

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Abstract – Internationalisation of higher education is often discussed in terms of a structural change of degree systems, student mobility and systematic harmonisation processes. But what impact do international scenarios have on the teaching and learning processes at universities? In this article we present and discuss examples of how "internationalisation" is experienced in a cross-cultural curriculum development program. We reflect on the process of gaining knowledge and experience through a didactical setting in a cross-cultural group at university. Since both students and tutors in our example were dealing with the cross-cultural environment as well as with the learning and teaching processes we refer to this setting as "academic apprenticeship". By this we mean a focus on experiences by forming a (cross-cultural) academic community, which will be described more concretely in our examples. The different cultural backgrounds and different historical and contextual preconditions are at the core of our approach. The cross-cultural component is central for our perception of university teaching and learning, as it might be a possibility to reflect on and contrast experiences and eventually understand and compare processes within educational institutions in their cultural context. We discuss examples of our experience in order to stimulate an exchange about learning and teaching settings at university rather than to deliver a ready-made model.

Keywords: university pedagogy, academic apprenticeship, experiential learning, learning environment, cultural sensitivity

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to reflect on teaching and learning experiences at university, focussing in particular on cross-cultural processes. We consider different cultural backgrounds as well as different historical and contextual standpoints of students and lecturers to be part of the learning and teaching situation at university. To deal with these circumstances is not only a question of harmonisation of degree structures or of student mobility but also of cross-cultural experiences within university. In this chapter we present some of the experiences gained in the EU-curriculum development program *Crosslife 2005-2008* by students and tutors from different cultural backgrounds, focusing in particular on our own experiences (documentation see www.peda.net/veraja/uta/vetculture/crosslife). We will argue that the group processes in concrete learning and teaching situations can be supported by arrangements that take both the university level and the cross-cultural components into account.

We start with a brief presentation of the outlines of the Crosslife program, leading over to our experiences within three face-to-face workshops in different cultural settings, and closing with some conceptual considerations derived from the experiences presented.

Outlines of an experience: Crosslife Step 1-5

The Crosslife project[1] was designed as a pathway for university students and tutors with five steps, consisting of face-to-face meetings in workshops, preparation and reflection of these workshops as well as collaboration with vocational education institutions. Students and

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1. These activities derive from a broader network focussing on vocational education and training and culture as well as on previous activities for junior researchers (2000-2003) (see EMVET 2003) and the EU curriculum development program Crosslife (2005-2008) (see Heikkinen & Kallioniemi-Chambers 2005 and www.peda.net/veraja/uta/vetculture/crosslife).

tutors from universities in Finland (Tampere), Great Britain (London), Malta, Switzerland (Zurich), Denmark (Copenhagen) and Australia (Monash University) have formed so-called "home-groups", though the term "home-group" must not be understood in a narrow sense: The participants had diverse cultural backgrounds, and their membership in a "home-group" was based on a temporary institutional link to the involved universities rather than on a homogeneous cultural background.

The home-groups during Crosslife prepared presentations together and generally were in contact with each other more often than with the participants of other home-groups. Furthermore, they shared the experience of one particular university setting or curriculum (e.g. at the University of Zurich). All of the six home-groups followed the Crosslife-pathway as a learning environment. We use the word "pathway" because the general principles in teaching and learning are seen as a process or development; the individual "steps" are standing for specific learning environments on this pathway (e.g. in Zurich, in London,…).

Crosslife-pathway
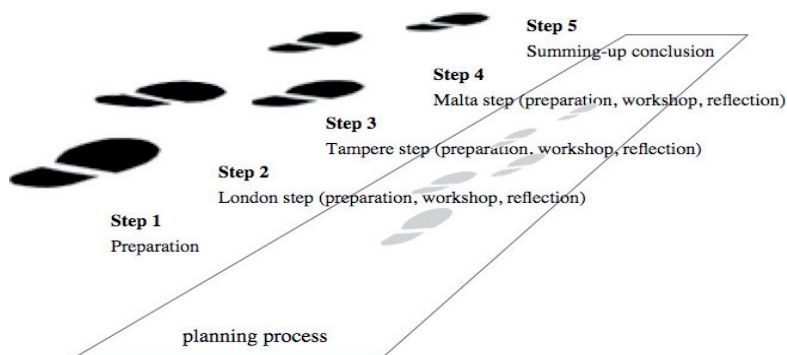
Figure 1. The Crosslife-pathway and planning process.

This article is written from the perspective of one of the six home-groups, i.e. the Swiss team. Four of the six members of the Swiss home-group are represented as authors. Apart from the planning process, which had started prior to the learning and teaching environment, the whole home-group had been involved in step 1, which included introducing oneself to the group on a web-platform, formulating research interests and establishing contact to a vocational education institution in the home context as a discussion partner. Step 2-4 each consisted of a one-week visit to one of the partner universities, including the preparation and reflection of these visits. The aim of these visits was to experience and understand a different vocational education setting. Within cross-cultural groups this also meant learning by doing and included conceptual discussions and reflections as university members (students, researchers, teachers,…). The last step (5) was a summing-up phase, which resulted in a record of the reflections on the whole pathway.

Experiences on the Crosslife-pathway

In the following sections the experiences gained in the individual steps along this pathway are presented and discussed by relating them to their impact on university learning and teaching. The content of the individual steps relates to the field of vocational education in general (but overlapping to other educational areas) and at the same time to the university context (students and tutors). This is again a (cross-)cultural issue that depends on different academic and vocational contexts of learning and instructional cultures.

For the present context we will focus on what the participating home-group members considered to be their most striking learning experiences. It proved to be a challenge to put the individuals' views in context with the pathway as a whole. We used the individual learning

journals as the sources for this presentation (we took notes, reflecting on our learning experiences during the whole process), focussing on the most memorable experiences. This resulted in three main topics, derived from the individual reports and relating especially to the experiences during step 2-4. These topics were present not only in one step, but occurred repeatedly during the 18 months of the whole Crosslife-pathway.

The three main topics can be summed up as follows:

- The multi-cultural and cross-cultural environment as an opportunity to foster an understanding of the research field
- Change as a historical and multi-layered development
- Transformation through pedagogical methodology in the cross-cultural context

These topics are discussed in turn in the subsequent sections.

The multi- and cross-cultural environment as an opportunity to foster an understanding of the research field

The very location of the first workshop of the Crosslife-project had a special impact – it was the city of London. Many different nations and cultures live and work in this metropolis. Similarly, the Crosslife-group consisted of people from more than ten different nations with different cultural, academic and disciplinary backgrounds, resulting in a heterogeneous and lively group. With reference to Kraus and Sultana (2008, also in this volume), the Crosslife-group could be characterised as a "small 'laboratory' in which participants try to soften and blur the boundaries drawn by their regular membership in 'disciplinary' as well as in national-, class-, gender-based cultures (to

mention only a few of the many possible borders and boundaries)" (Kraus & Sultana in this volume).

The overall theme of the workshop in London was "travelling ideas". It dealt with the issues how concepts, policies, objects etc. within vocational education move between countries, how they are conceptualised and developed further. As early as in the 19th century, when conditions for travelling improved, scholars started travelling for educational matters. Among the reasons for these travels were the comparisons of national education systems, including universities, libraries and other educational institutions, and the urge to get in contact with colleagues (Gonon, 2004, pp. 127 ff.). In a sense, the concept of "travelling ideas" was the connecting and linking metaphor for our multi-cultural group.

One of the most impressive learning experiences during the workshop was the collaboration within one of the cross-cultural groups. The process of getting to know each other and the group dynamics were very fascinating for us. Although we all spoke the same language we had to learn to understand each other, to clear up misunderstandings and to take the different cultural contexts into consideration. English was used as a lingua franca, enabling communication between members of different language groups (this was also the case in other contexts where English is not an official language, e.g. during the workshop in Tampere). Yet, the use of one language seemingly spoken und understood by all participants must not hide the fact that such cross-cultural communication is more difficult than it may seem at first sight. Even a single word may have several meanings in different national, cultural or academic traditions (see Kraus & Sultana in this volume). This complexity of cross-cultural collaboration became noticeable in the form of a "critical incident" in the middle of the program. Provoked by different expectations concerning the workshop, by a lack of information and a general feeling of uncertainty, the students "confronted" the tutors with their discontent. The subsequent discussion was very intensive and in parts emotional, but it eventually

resulted in a dialogue between the tutors and the students, which was very important for the teamwork and the group atmosphere. In a way this "critical incident" showed that during the first days of the workshop the individual group members had still be captured in their own academic and cultural backgrounds, despite their awareness of the intercultural setting. This had proved that it is not enough simply to be aware of a cross-cultural and inter-cultural team, but it is essential to leave one's own cultural and academic setting.

Another important experience was the visit to Lewisham College. This extraordinary example of a vocational education institution is located in a deprived district of London. The school has to deal with serious problems like delinquency, drugs, violence etc. One Crosslife-group had the opportunity to attend a political education lesson for dropouts who now aim to obtain an entrance qualification for university. The pupils in this class differed with regard to their ethnical backgrounds and their "former careers". The topic of the lesson was the citizens' initiatives. Working in several small groups, the students' task was to create action groups with self-selected topics and to develop persuasive arguments. The teacher had a very intensive method of teaching, was omnipresent and motivated the class very effectively. The pupils formed different citizens groups, introduced their concepts to each other and in so doing learned to be active citizen. Again, due to the multi-cultural backgrounds (among other factors) there was a range of different understandings of what it means to be an active citizen. The students dealt with this issue very open-mindedly and with mutual respect. The very special and active atmosphere – mainly created by the teacher – highlighted other forms of teaching and learning methods for multi-cultural and heterogeneous groups. Furthermore, this lesson showed that multi-cultural teamwork also depends on a supportive environment and on respect for each other.

In comparison to other less international and interdisciplinary contexts, the also multi-cultural setting in the Crosslife workshops enabled a new, enriching form of learning, supported by the experi-

ence of travelling. In addition, the heterogeneity and the cross-cultural collaboration helped to create an awareness "of the way cultures and languages talk through us" (ibid., p. 79) and opened new prospects for academic learning and teaching. The experience of inter-cultural settings and teamwork broadens the horizon of learners, tutors and researchers at university in an important way: the rising awareness for different cultural backgrounds enables them also to reflect more profoundly on their own academic culture.

Change as a historical and multi-layered development

Our experiences in a multi-cultural setting highlight the factors of mobility and of change within education and work. However, we may ask whether the way people respond to change is shaped by their cultural background. Even in the reading texts suggested by the Crosslife-curriculum, change was presented in many ways. In a learning process it can be understood as some sort of transformation (see also next section), but change is also visible in institutions and social and cultural systems. In a cross-cultural setting it seems important not only to learn about the concrete situation.

In some of the texts accompanying the Crosslife-pathway, change was addressed rather negatively as "disturbance". We found the text "Disturbing work" by Seddon et al. with its negative concept of capitalism and flexibility and the glorification of the good old times with traditional working orders, trades and guilds to be particularly irritating (Seddon et al. forthcoming; see also Henriksson et al., 2006). Any change or transformation of working conditions was considered to be "disturbing". However, the text could also be seen as an attempt to cope with change in working conditions in a globalized world on an individual and collective level. The term "disturbing" seemed to indicate an additional meaning of transformation, which was also

taken up in the context of the Crosslife-pathway, where different connotations of change were visible, e.g. during the second workshop (step 3) in Tampere within the Finnish Labour Museum or at a vocational education institution (TAKK). The visit to the Finnish Labour Museum provided an additional perspective on change, and it was one example for the importance of contextualisation enabled by experiential learning. The museum provided an overview of the changes in working life from a historical perspective. Working and living conditions in Finland were very different from the ones in other parts of Europe. Finland's modern economy had started to develop later than in the other European countries, but had then developed rapidly. It had long depended on the Soviet Union as its most important economic partner, and after the Soviet Union's decline in the 1990s, Finland had consequently joined the EU. It seems to us that social questions were much more focused in Finland than in Switzerland, and the position of the Finnish women seemed to be far stronger. Finnish women were the first in Europe to be given electoral rights in 1906. Another difference to most European countries is the relative absence of foreigners: The population of Finland is very homogeneous with only 2.5% of foreigners (Statistics Finland, 2007). Our experience can only partly give first explanations but it led to an understanding of circumstances that is different from reading about this topic in a book.

The visit to the Tampere Vocational Adult Education Centre (TAKK) gave us yet another insight into the educational sector and working conditions in Finland. We were impressed by the way adult education is brought forward in this institution and by the means with which the state contributes to this aim. These means are not invested in institutions or programs but given directly to citizens for their individual further education. TAKK's mission is to improve the competitiveness of trade and industry in the surrounding region by providing the adult population with vocational skills to meet their requirements, which sounds very convincing and is surely an approach

that is less common in other places so far. Another successful project is the so-called tailored or personalized learning, i.e. a personal study plan for each student and permanent guidance and support by the trainers to ensure a high quality of learning and an orientation towards change itself.

The institution acts and reacts to changes in work and in the market conditions in a very flexible way. Its individualized learning concept necessitates a modification of the trainers' role. They must be as close to the shifting market conditions as possible to be able to adapt their training programs fast. Therefore, trainers are encouraged to stay in permanent dialogue with companies to detect their training needs and the level of competence of their employees. The project manager and international contact person of TAKK, Päivi Puutio, described this changing role of the trainers as follows: *"A trainer is a bit of a consultant, a sales representative, an expert, a developer, a counsellor, a web-wizard, a friend, a teacher, and a good workmate"* (Puutio, 2008).

In sum, personal attitudes towards change are truly shaped by cultural backgrounds. Many times throughout their history, the Finns were forced to adapt to changing conditions. Their awareness of the risks and chances of change might have shaped their self-concept, which needs to be understood by "outsiders" in order to explain certain phenomena within vocational education and other areas of Finnish society.

Transformation through pedagogical methodology in the cross-cultural context

Throughout the Crosslife-pathway and especially prior to the third workshop, the question arose how and to what extent the pedagogical methodology of the pathway had provoked a significant development

in the participants. This topic of transformation through pedagogy is the link to the former two workshops. As mentioned above, the participants formed so-called home groups in each participating university. In one discussion drawing on the observations made in different institutions of vocational and adult education it became evident that pedagogical methodology is increasingly tailored to individual needs, e.g. individual coaching has come to be commonly used in adult vocational education and training (Staub, 2004). This has led us to the conclusion that transformation in education policy is most visible in this aspect of individualization, a view that stands in contrast to the economical approach to pedagogical interventions from the 1990s that was based on the idea of an input-outcome-relation – an approach that is still prominent today (Ellis, 1995).

This raises questions about the transfer of knowledge, the limitations of transfer and the resulting transformation of the learner through pedagogical methodology (Adams, 2006). Adams proposes the following three hypotheses:

(1) The use of one specific teaching method may not make it possible to transfer (all) the necessary knowledge.
(2) The actual content that is imparted always depends on the teacher's or professor's choice.
(3) The very choice of teaching methodology, e.g. PowerPoint, and class arrangement creates patterns and structures that might influence the content.

These three hypotheses suggest that the culture of learning and teaching is worthy to be examined and reflected on. One of the important topics in this regard is the difference between the imposing and rigid nature of a "classic" PowerPoint input versus the discursive and co-constructive character of a group discussion.

The final discussion and the participants' feedback after the workshop show that any activity contains both visual and practical aspects,

involves the transfer of ideas, connectivity, collaboration, boundary crossing, cross-cultural learning and education. It also shows that there is a need to compare the different pedagogical methodologies and the contents as well. The involved transformation processes may surely be different in all of these cases.

Cross-cultural group-work remained a central focus throughout the pathway of academic apprenticeship and determined many of our experiences, both academic and cultural. The essence of the individual cross-cultural learning processes cannot be formulated in terms of clear-cut facts, but the gist of cross-cultural exchange consists in the discursive moments when a foreign culture ties in with the academic, professional and cultural heritage that every participant brings along with him or her. The following example may serve as an illustration for this transformation process through cross-culturally oriented pedagogy: To a child it may seem that the world is made up of predetermined and unchangeable structures (e.g. family structures). The adolescent, however, starts to perceive shifts in reality and becomes conscious of constant change and decision-making, and finally realizes that the knowledge of past conditions is the key to future questions – and thus discovers the interdependence between past, present and future.

Cross-cultural experience and "academic apprenticeship"

With these cross-cultural experiences in mind we would like to revisit our perception of university teaching and learning and our assessment of the consequences of "internationalisation" in this particular learning environment within the Crosslife project. This is central for our perception of academic apprenticeship as it takes two components into account:

(1) the international influences on university teaching and learning, and

(2) the possibility to reflect on the teaching and learning contents and processes by contrasting (different) experiences.

One important topic in the internationalisation discussion at university is international mobility (also addressed in the Bologna process documents and follow-ups, Bologna Declaration, 1999; Reinalda & Kulesza, 2006). Regarding the learning and teaching processes, the question of mobility includes not only physical (international) mobility but also the opportunity to experience different cultural settings. We understand these cultural settings in a broad sense, including national cultures, disciplinary cultures, questions of gender etc. In the learning and teaching experiences made during the workshops it has been difficult to distinguish between cultural and individual characteristics of the individual members of the international group. For example, it may be impossible to determine whether some question regarding the content of vocational education is typically "Finnish" or if it is motivated by an individual interest. In other words, we face a complex commingling of cultural-specific and individual predispositions in such learning and teaching situations. This can be also observed in the planning processes for curriculum development (see Kraus & Sultana in this volume). Nevertheless, the fact that participants who are familiar with the context at hand (e.g. the Maltese group during the visit in Malta) and "outsiders" explore a topic together – in research as well as in learning and teaching situations – helps to broaden all participants' horizons and creates a setting that subserves the ability to reflect both on the familiar and on the un-familiar. This means that an "outsiders' perspective" may be a relevant contribution to the reflection about one's role in the academic context, too. In this sense, we no longer ask questions like "Would the British NQF-System be good for Switzerland?" or "How can we beat Finland in the PISA-survey?" The aim is rather to gain an understanding of the different

systems and the different circumstances. Furthermore, the objects of research (e.g. a national qualification framework) have undergone a history of transfer within international, national and local contexts, and these transfers are crucial for the explanation and contextualisation of the present situation (see Kraus, 2008).

For research as well as for teaching and learning arrangements, explanations and considerations can be linked. The creation of such links can be triggered by the confrontation with something unfamiliar. With the term "cross-cultural" we also refer to the diminishing role of the nation state as a main factor in this field of research and to an increase in international relationships. This includes a stronger emphasis on collaborative research and teaching at university commonly done by native academics as well as by outsiders. Furthermore, it emphasizes the need to be more sensitive to local, social constructions of reality, e.g. the research or learning/teaching situation in the university context (Weil, 2008; Vulliamy, 2004; Crossley, 2002). This cross-cultural approach questions the dominance of universalistic models as it accounts for the meaning and circumstances of being different (Heikkinen, 2004). The cultural complexity within universities is described by the League of European Research Universities – keeping in mind that although academics have always sought to establish relations with each other, "corporate inter-university links are increasingly being developed across cultural divides which not only stimulate research links but also deepen student's sympathies for and understanding of the diversity of cultural assumptions and complexities of the modern world" (Boulton & Lucas, 2008). We argue that teaching and learning at university needs to take this into account beyond the mere structural implementation of internationalisation in the context of the Bologna process.

One model derived from our experiences can be called "academic apprenticeship". In vocational education the term "apprenticeship" is used for very different models and concepts, such as school-based or work-based training or a combination of the two (see also Deissinger,

2008, Jørgensen, 2009). The term seems to be an oxymoron considering the frequently described "academic-vocational-divide" in education systems (Gonon, 2008, Koski, 2009). The respective stereotypes are that academic knowledge is acquired by studying at a desk and vocation skills are acquired through (practical) work. However, by academic apprenticeship we have a different approach in mind: At university this includes a focus on experiential learning and teaching by forming an academic community (in the present context we understand such a community to include both research and teaching at university level). Within this academic community, knowledge, skills and also identity components are combined in such a way that it is impossible to teach or learn just one of these components on its own. And here the cross-cultural focus is relevant again, because the academic community – where learning, teaching and researching of a specific subject takes place – might benefit from reflections on its cultural diversity and complexity.

Conclusion

The experience gained during the Crosslife-pathway suggests that learning scenarios in all kinds of groups are influenced by the curriculum, by the presentations and discussions, by pedagogical methods, practical experiences and group dynamics. But teaching and learning in a cross-cultural setting differs from other classroom-settings. Ideally, it facilitates a new learning perspective in that it sensitises the participants to other cultural and academic backgrounds and thus leads to a deeper awareness of their own (academic) culture and routines. It may challenge the participants' identities as a university students, teachers or researchers and may enable a better understanding of what it means to be a collective participant within university. This change of perspective could be considered either as an advantage (enabling

innovation) or as a disadvantage (resulting in insecurity about the situation).

In addition, this approach might entail a tendency to tackle the issue of globalisation and internationalisation too much from a personal level, i.e. based on personal experience in research and learning/teaching. Cross-cultural research aims to move beyond one-dimensional, nationally restricted comparisons and towards a dialogue on the cultural characteristics of vocational education (Heikkinen, 1994). Yet it also accounts for cross-cultural or inter-personal group dynamics, which might be perceived as disturbing. Within the setting we have called academic apprenticeship, gaining knowledge and gaining experience seem to be parallel and interwoven processes.

Our experience of the Crosslife-pathway was also much influenced by the topic of mobility and by our travelling. We would recommend that the universities create an "international learning environment" that stimulates cross-cultural collaboration and critical thinking – also for their native staff. This topic is discussed under "internationalisation at home" (Knight, 2008). Internationalisation is consequently seen as a part of the teaching and learning content but it is also practiced as a method, both among the students as well as the tutors. If taken seriously this could have major impacts on the learning and teaching at universities and would mean that mobility is not an isolated personal experience but a collective approach to learning.

We hope that by this presentation of our experiences we have been able to stimulate the discussion about academic apprenticeship and to have highlighted a fruitful and promising area for further research.

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9

Problematising 'cross-cultural'collaboration: critical incidents inhigher education settings

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Abstract – Many EU projects are premised on the assumption that collaboration between academics and students from different national contexts adds value to knowledge production and to learning. It is very rare to come across accounts of how challenging such cross-cultural collaboration can be, especially when the notion 'culture' is expanded to include both national and gendered identities, as well as cultures embedded in particular academic disciplines. This paper sets out to explore the 'critical incidents' that arose in the context of an Erasmus curriculum development project, showing how these 'incidents' open a window onto the complex and challenging processes that come into play in cross-cultural and inter-disciplinary settings.

Keywords: higher education, culture, identity, cross-cultural collaboration

Introduction

This paper is one of the 'products' developed in the context of an Erasmus curriculum development project called CROSSLIFE, which focuses on cross-cultural collaboration in the field of lifelong learning and vocational education. The project offers an 18 month-long learning pathway to students registered in MA or PhD programmes at the Danish University of Education, and the universities of London, Malta, Monash, Tampere and Zürich, with tutors from all six institutions involved in lecturing and mentoring through both virtual and face-to-face meetings[1]. The project therefore could be seen as a 'higher education consortium', as Beerkens & Derwende (2007) call this kind of international cooperation between institutions of higher learning. Students are clustered in home-groups, but interact with and across all groups via Skype telephony, videoconferencing, and workshops[2]. The course focuses on both content and process issues. The substantive focus is on Vocational Education and Training (VET) including, for instance, the issue of policy borrowing and lending in VET-related areas in both the EU and beyond. The process dimension examines the issues that arise when academics and students from different 'cultures' collaborate in their attempt to generate a deeper understanding of a particular area of research. In this paper, it is this second, process-oriented dimension that is foregrounded.

A key assumption underpinning many EU programmes in education and training is that research and learning can be enhanced through bringing together academics and students from different countries. It is however surprising to note that while *content* outcomes from such collaboration are given high visibility through publications, accounts of the *process* issues that arise in the production of that content are rarely to be seen[3]. This paper is an attempt to address that gap.

The article is divided into two parts. The first part considers the general meaning of 'culture'. The latter term is here defined broadly to include not only considerations of 'national' cultures, but also

cultures that are linked to gendered ways of being, and to academic disciplines. These distinctions help us unpack the implications that cultural diversity can have for cross-cultural collaboration, especially between academics involved in researching, planning, studying and teaching together. They also provide us with a more nuanced way of considering 'cross-cultural competence', which often tends to be limited to the kinds of attitudes, values and skills that are required when people from different national cultures interact.

   The second part of the paper connects the theoretical reflections about 'culture' with 'critical incidents' that arose in the course of a three-day CROSSLIFE curriculum planning workshop held in Malta in March 2007, which brought together ten project members from four different countries[4]. These 'incidents' were 'critical' in the sense that, for individual workshop participants, they represented key instances or moments that arose spontaneously while interacting with colleagues, and which opened a window onto the complex and challenging processes that come into play in cross-cultural and inter-disciplinary settings.

'Culture' and its meanings

It is important to define 'culture' if we are going to analytically consider the cross-cultural issues that arise when working with colleagues and students from different countries, European or otherwise. In the tradition of Clifford Geertz (1993), 'culture' is here taken to mean 'a forum for negotiating and re-negotiating meaning and for explicating action' (Bruner, 1986, p. 65). Moreover, culture is an 'ensemble of tools of discourse that a group employs towards exchanging information, expressing states of consciousness, forming bonds of solidarity, and forging common strategies of action' (Bowles & Gintis, 1988, p. 22). Growing up in a certain cultural context entails the imparting

of these meanings, practices and tools of discourse. This process is not necessarily explicit, but is more likely to be implicit, involving what can be referred to as 'embodied' knowledge. This process of 'socialisation' or 'enculturation' takes place not only in the early years, but is a lifelong developmental process whereby individuals interact with others and with their broader environment.

These 'forums' for communication, or 'webs of significance' (Geertz, 1993), can be organised around different aspects of human existence and experience. In what follows, we will look at three elements of culture that proved to be particularly pertinent when it came to understanding the challenges of cross-cultural collaboration in academic labour, namely 'national' cultures, gendered cultures, and disciplinary cultures. It is important to consider each of these at some length, acknowledging at the same time that there are other elements of culture – such as religious affiliation, for instance – that could prove to be equally if not more important in collaborative settings.

National identities

While 'culture', as we shall see, is not only marked by national borders, much of the interaction between CROSSLIFE participants was coloured by the different national experiences that formed identities and shaped them in particular ways. Differences in behaviour, expectations, attitudes and values were, overtly or covertly, attributed to 'national cultures', and it therefore becomes critical to unpack the notion and to problematise it. For a start, it is immediately clear that 'national' and 'cultural' identities are not one and the same thing. Indeed, the boundaries surrounding culture can be smaller or larger than the confines determined by the nation state. The borders of the latter unit are often the outcomes of historical and political processes – such as wars and treaties signed by

leading elites – rather than markers of the boundaries of the kindof cultural 'forum' referred to earlier.

The process of nation state building is in fact often accompanied by violent forms that have as a goal the 'production' of cultural homogeneity as a basis for a collective identity inside national borders. Among these violent forms one can refer to so-called 'ethnic cleansing', or to a very rigid language policy – with the goal being of marking a sharp cultural difference against 'the other'. Benedict Anderson (1991) describes nations as 'imagined communities' to highlight the fact that part of the process of nation-building is to create a culturally homogenous community that is identical with the borders of the nation state. Once established these nationally defined borders of course *are* real, and with time can and do end up shaping human interaction in spatial and temporal terms, thus generating 'national cultures' that wield an influence on the way of being of individuals. Nevertheless, while in some contexts it may make sense to talk of 'national cultures', or even of a 'European culture', it is critical to acknowledge that such terms are constructs, and that the very act of speaking of 'culture' in this way serves to reify it, giving it a 'solidity' and 'permanence' that is ideological. There is no such a thing as a closed, homogenous national culture, but there are national states as 'imagined communities' that are influential in shaping the individual's identity and behaviour and to some extent lead to 'cultural homogeneity' within the defined national borders.

Indeed, the very fact of focusing on 'culture' – whether in national or European terms – actually serves to *create* the object of our analysis, a case, therefore, of what Dale & Robertson (2005) would refer to as *productive* discourse. In many ways, notions of national or supra-national cultures are generated discursively: politicians keen to have national unity often make references to 'a national culture' that unites an otherwise heterogeneous population, serving to distinguish them from others, who are, in this way, considered to be 'outsiders', located in a different cultural space defined by national and/or cul-

tural borders. On a broader scale, the discourse around Europe often essentialises 'culture' (Wilterdink, 1993) in an attempt to generate a collective identity among a disparate group of nations, and in order to demarcate fault lines that keep the 'other' out (Sultana, 2002). Much of the debate about Turkish aspirations to become a member of the European Union – like earlier ones concerning Morocco – have revealed the extent to which Europe *is* a political and economic construct, with considerations of culture serving to legitimise particular points of view.

In relation to this, it should be acknowledged that education – including, for instance, European study programmes – is part of the EU strategy to create a 'European identity' as a foundation for the European integration process, that is it is part of European *identity politics* (Kraus, 2004). In aiming for a 'European identity', a key assumption and argument is the project of a 'shared' cultural heritage. Education and education policy are thus part of the discursive production of cultural homogeneity embedded in re-structuring political units. This notion is caught by the interesting twist that Habermas gives to the idea of a 'learning society'. Reflecting on the need for a European constitution and for the necessity of constructing a 'European' sense of identity, Habermas (2001) points out how individuals have historically been able to make the 'abstract leap' from building their sense of belongingness to a 'clan' to that of belonging to a 'nation', and that nothing precludes learning how to extend this educational process to generate a sense of identity *beyond* the nation to supra-national cultural and political consciousness.

The acknowledgement that 'national cultures' are constructs opens up an important analytical space: it provides us with the possibility of conceptualizing 'culture' in a more *anthropological* sense, namely in ways that prevent us from 'glossing over' differences in the manner in which meaning is co-constructed within and between groups of interacting individuals. Such groups typically cohere around a variety of forms of *embedded identities*, reflecting more or less con-

scious forms of membership in – and allegiance to – *bounded/bonded communities*. This embeddedness manifests itself through discursive codes and symbols, such as language, dialect, linguistic registers and jargon, as well as values, aesthetic taste, beliefs, and what Bourdieu would refer to as 'habitus' – all of which are shared in order to create feelings of group identity and of 'belongingness'. Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' tends to surround the notion of culture with a certain deterministic flavour considering 'habitus' as a more or less stable part of a person's 'inventory of behaviour'. We are here in the realm of dispositions that are deeply ingrained through socialisation – in other words, dispositions which are basically unalterable, and which therefore tend to create a certain pattern and stability in the group membership of individuals, largely attributable to their 'distinctions' and social class location (Bourdieu, 1984).

Nevertheless, the way individuals belong to one 'cultural unit' varies from person to person, and a 'cultural unit' is not a monolithic bloc but rather manifests a high degree of diversity. Such diversity arises from the uniqueness of individuals, as well as from the nature of the social structures in a society, which give rise to differences related to gender, class, ethnicity, religion and so on. The 'culture' of a group, community or nation is always under construction and a permanent object of negotiation, as is the positioning – by oneself or the others – of individuals within that cultural unit. 'Culture' is at the same time 'stable' and 'in flux'. Culture is an effect of homogenising practices and at the same time 'produces' cultural borders and collective identities, categorising some as 'insiders' and others as 'outsiders', some as 'us' and others as 'the other'. Working with an understanding of culture as articulated above helps us see people not only as belonging to one (national) 'culture' but also as being positioned within that 'culture' in ways that are socially structured by different factors. Individuals can have privileged access to – and interactive rights in – different groups marked by their social class, gender, ethnic, and religious location in the overall social structure. It is easy to understand how individuals

can belong to several groups within one culture where meaning and identity are expressed in particular ways, whether these are political parties, sports clubs, music genres, and so on. These groups exist within 'national cultures' but also beyond national borders. Sociology and anthropology have shown us that typically individuals weave their identities in complex ways, claiming membership in a variety of cultural (as well as so-called 'sub-cultural' or 'counter-cultural') groupings. This 'promiscuity' in membership has been heightened by the new technologies, which permits exposure to and interaction with 'cultures' that have cross-spatial boundaries and which can take virtual rather than visceral forms. On an individual level that process is described as 'process identity' or even 'fragmented identity'.

As with 'culture', the category 'identity' is also in permanent flux and is built up by more or less temporarily integrating different aspects within the process of identity formation. Identity and culture have some stability but are at one and the same time undergoing a process of continual transformation (Baumann, 2004). There is often a continuity of values in the usually overlapping set of 'forums' to which an individual belongs, even if the 'language' spoken in the different groups may vary. Still, one of these 'forums' (e.g., social class membership) could provide the key 'linguistic' structure that defines the interactions in all the other groups, so that being working class, for instance, more (in some accounts) or less (in other accounts) determines which political party one associates with, which sports one practices or supports, which music one listens and dances to, and so on. How such different aspects and elements of national identity/identities influence and structure the academic collaborative process is a key focus for our reflection, and as we shall see in the second part of the paper, contributed much material when CROSSLIFE workshop participants came to write up their critical incidents.

Gendered identities

The category gender played also an important part in structuring cross-cultural collaboration among CROSSLIFE participants in particular ways. The issue of gendered identities, for being a 'woman' or a 'man' – however these categories are *socially* constructed within particular 'cultures' and discourses (Butler, 1990; 1993) – is also one of the 'key influences' of personal existence. Much of the scholarship in gender studies in fact alerts us to the ways gender functions as a source of 'collective identity' that provides a resource for the individual identity building process. This active construction of one's gendered identity follows not only national borders, but is also differentiated *across* and *within* 'national cultures', a fact that helps us refrain from either essentialising gender or reifying gendered hierarchies (Holmes, 2007). Gender boundaries can therefore be said to both *intersect* with and to *transgress* national borders, in the sense that the categories 'female' and 'male' have generic relevance, even if there are many ways to understand and interpret these categories, both in culturally-embedded aswell as individual ways.

A wide range of research done in feminist theory and gender studies allows us to understand gender today primarily as 'doing gender', that is as a social practice that actualises, interprets and re-enforces culturally specific understandings of 'female' and 'male' in social practices, all the while acknowledging differences within gender. Among the latter especially those that are linked to class- or racebased social relations (Hooks, 1981). As 'queer-theory' has taken pains to point out, being a 'woman' or being a 'man' can be lived in many different ways.

Awareness of the fact that 'genders', however they are conceived, are socially constructed – and as such contingent and changeable – does not mean that 'genderedness' is not highly relevant for the personal and social life of people. Women and men do not find it easy to overcome the limits set by belonging to one of the two gender categories. Gender

may very well be a social construct, but this is lived in very deeply personal ways, and as a 'way of being', since we grow up – and live – in gendered social environments (Maihofer, 1995), where 'social life continues to be organised along very gendered lines' (Holmes 2007, p. 38). Critically important too in considering gendered identities is the insight by such authors as Donna Haraway, Sandra Harding and Rosi Braidotti who emphasised the structural 'in-visibility of masculinity' (and of 'whiteness'). The fact that, in Western societies, male (and white) are considered to represent the norm, leads to men enjoying a hegemonic position as an 'unmarked category', representing 'objectivity' (Haraway, 1988). In contrast, and as a consequence, women are structurally marked as a 'special-interest group' which is so-named by men who, as representative of the 'referent' or the 'norm', have the power to 'locate' others without themselves being socially located. It is for this reason that Haraway, among others, makes a case for a 'politics of positioning' that renders the partial position from which people interact transparent because it is part of the argument they make and the way they behave.

Crossing cultures for CROSSLIFE members also entailed confronting such issues, thus making being 'male' and being 'female' a focus for reflection on the ways gender plays itself out in academic collaboration.

Disciplinary identities

Many collaborative ventures among academics set out to add value to their endeavours by including researchers from different disciplines. Cross-disciplinary teams also tend to form in an unplanned manner, when, as with CROSSLIFE, the project focuses on education where, typically, researchers have a varied background in the humanities and sciences[5]. This can be considered to be both an opportunity and

a threat to cross-cultural collaboration, in the sense that *academic disciplinary traditions* are 'knowledge forums' bringing together 'academic tribes' (Becher, 1989) that have developed their own 'codes' and 'language', as well as acting as powerful sources of belief (Clark, 1983). These 'tribes' have also developed their own specific ways of generating, valuing, validating and legitimising meaning, as well as of distinguishing themselves from other disciplines not only by their object and methods of research but also by their 'codes' and 'languages'. As Knorr Cetina (1999) has argued, 'epistemic cultures' determine how people know and what they know.

In these ways, academics mark 'insiders' of their academic discipline, as well as 'outsiders'. Cross-cultural work among scholars and researchers would therefore demand an enhanced awareness of the way 'scientific' protocols are embedded in competing academic disciplinary traditions. As Schoenberger (2001) notes, we as academics 'need to think explicitly from time to time about our own disciplinary culture, including its epistemological and ontological commitments; who it includes and excludes; what it values and what it does not value highly; and so on' (p. 379). Cross-cultural work across disciplines also requires an effort to develop dispositions and competences that enable individuals to 'read', 'translate' and 'decode' the work of colleagues, and to converse in their 'language'. While this, as the critical incidents generated during the CROSSLIFE workshop confirmed, is easier said than done, it is not an impossible task. This is because while 'each tribe has a name and a territory, settles its own affairs, goes to war with others' and has 'a variety of symbolic ways of demonstrating its apartness from others', 'nevertheless the whole set of tribes possess a common culture: their ways of construing the world and the people who live in it are sufficiently similar for them to be able to understand, more or less, each other's culture and even, when necessary, to communicate with members of other tribes' (Becher, 1994, p. 151). The 'stability' of these academic tribes means that disciplinary cultures can even transcend national cultures, as witnessed by international

discipline-based associations, international conferences, and cross-national collaboration between academics.

Border crossings

CROSSLIFE's ambition to examine the often-unexamined complexities that surround 'culture' and cross-cultural academic work has to confront at least two challenges. On the one hand cross-cultural work is difficult, given the seeming *impossibility of sharing meaning* of codes, symbols and practices embedded as this is in deeply-engrained dispositions that are culturally shaped through process of socialisation and 'enculturation'. On the other hand, we have the critical humanist notion of culture as an *educational project*, where education is defined as a process that provides individuals with the dispositions and competences to converse with communities other than one's own. From this perspective, the curricular emphasis on learning languages, a range of 'subjects', as well as opening up windows on the world beyond one's own town or village is precisely to enable the citizen to move out of and transcend the parochial, and to become a more global citizen or, in the language of education, a 'cosmopolitan'.

In this sense, CROSSLIFE can be seen as a small 'laboratory' in which participants try to soften and blur the boundaries drawn by their regular membership in 'disciplinary clans' as well as in national-, class-, gender-based cultures (to mention only a few of the many possible borders and boundaries). This is well worth the effort, as it is through these attempts at 'border-crossing' (Giroux, 2005) that we develop tools of discourse that facilitate the exchange of information, the development of a shared understanding of meaning, the expression of states of consciousness, the forming of bonds of solidarity, and the forging of common strategies of action, including cross-cultural planning and research as well as teaching and learning. This cultural project, however, is, ironically, jeopardised by the very entities that set

out to promote it. This is true of EU policy discourse, for instance, which, as Heikkinen (2003) points out, endangers authentic dialogue through 'the shared simplistic, a-cultural terminologies and rhetorics' (p. 31), avoiding and eliding the complexity of the cultural embeddedness of phenomena.

Learning from the 'critical incidents' generated in the CROSSLIFE 'laboratory'

The challenges that arise in attempting to 'cross borders' have been caught experientially by the CROSSLIFE partners during a three-day planning-workshop in 2007, referred to in the introductory section of this paper. At the end of the workshop, and inspired by the 'Critical Incident Technique' (CIT) developed, among others, by Flanagan (1954) and Fivars (1980), participants were asked to write two or three 'critical incidents' that they experienced in the course of the curriculum planning meeting, and to reflect on the significance that these incidents potentially had for doing scholarly work together cross-culturally. These critical incidents provided enough 'raw' qualitative data to facilitate 'experiential learning', thus enabling the whole group to reflect on the sets of cross-cultural issues, tensions and difficulties that might arise for academics as well as for students in working together, and on the implications that this might have for organising teaching and learning contexts with students and lecturers from different countries[6].

The thoughts, feelings and reflections of partners involved in the attempt to talk to each other 'across cultures', and as expressed through the articulation of critical incidents, are here synthesised and organised around the following key-themes:

- Difficulties encountered in writing up the critical incidents
- Tensions and challenges involving value differences
- Tensions and challenges involved in trust-building
- Tensions and challenges around the medium of communication
- Tensions and challenges around the notion of 'academic traditions'
- Issues related to different roles in the group

Each of these is considered in turn, with an effort to tease out the implications that these challenges have for lecturers, researchers and students embarking on collaborative academic work.

Difficulties encountered
in writing up the critical incidents

A first point that emerges from the exercise of writing down a critical incident concerning issues of cross-cultural work is the range of difficulties the participants reported having when attempting to articulate their experiences. Among the difficulties referred to were the following:

First difficulty. A major difficulty encountered by many was the ability to *disentangle cultural from other issues, including personal ones*, that is to account for tensions that arose due to:

- cultural orientations that are the results of individual's belonging to a 'cultural forum' as described above, that is in relation to embeddedness in national cultures, social class or gender cultures.
- organisational and academic practices which might themselves also be rooted in regional, national, disciplinary or institutional cultures *or*

- individual personality traits (e.g., a person might have a more 'competitive' rather than 'collaborative' orientation when working in a group context or
- some people are in general more extrovert than others) and such orientations might be rather more linked to personality and biography than to broadly cultural traits.

Given that identity, biography and social environment are closely inter-linked, comments about an individual's actions may end up being (or being perceived to be) personal criticism rather than a discussion about more broadly structural features (such as attitudes or behaviours absorbed from a surrounding culture). *Writing up a critical incident raised concerns that, in doing so, the feelings of individual group members might be hurt.* The way individuals occupy space and time in group interaction, how quickly or slowly they move to the core of the group or remain on the periphery may very well be a feature of personal characteristics, in the way a person processes new situations. However, it may also be closely inter-linked with power arising from processes and dynamics that have, for instance, strong gendered issues layered in. The situation is rendered more complex by the fact that perceptions are strongly influenced by the pre-existing relationships that exist between members of the group (e.g., whether one finds the other likeable or not), by the nature of the group dynamics, and the specific situation in which such dynamics are played out. Factors such as these contribute to the blurring of the category 'cross-cultural' critical incident.

Additionally, some participants in the critical incident exercise felt that one (national) culture does not quite determine who they are. Often people have lived in different countries, have forefathers or relatives with other nationalities, and live or work together with people with very different cultural backgrounds. Due to these facts one might consider oneself as being already 'cross-cultural' in one's very own identity and also as experienced in cross-cultural social

settings, and might feel uncomfortable when viewed reductively as representing one culture.

The implications are:
- Learning groups made up by members from different disciplines and from different national and cultural contexts may need to be aware of the various layers of intra- and inter-cultural diversity in order to be more effective communicators and collaborators.
- The very notion of 'cross-cultural' communication, as the basis of the CROSSLIFE project, may itself be overly optimistic given the complex inter and intra-personal processes involved in constructing meaning in the context of a group and the diversity within every 'cultural unit'.
- It is important to acknowledge that groups are always heterogeneous and group dynamics are always complex. The dynamics in cross-cultural groups is perhaps more complex than that in groups where the members share the same 'cultural background', though in some ways, the fact that diversity is signaled by the very composition of the group enhances the awareness that the 'otherness' of participants should be recognised (Akkerman et al., 2006).
- Another way of putting this would be to state that obstacles in communication within a culturally mixed group are often complex and intertwined, and cannot be easily 'explained away' by referring to 'culture'.

Second difficulty. There was a concern that, in an effort to describe and account for irritating experiences due to cultural diversity, individuals would end up using *cultural stereotypes.* The trap is not only to simplify things by using this kind of 'explanation' for a person's behaviour but also to reinforce the stereotypes, even if these are used in a critical manner. Sometimes perceptions of cultures – whether one's own or those of others – are so deeply engrained that they are barely available to one's consciousness and hence not particularly susceptible to ex-

amination and problematisation. During the CROSSLIFE workshop, differences were attributed to (often essentialising) *regional* besides *national* groupings, such as 'Nordic' or 'Anglo-Saxon'. Needless to say, the content of these categories need to be unpacked, not necessarily (and simplistically) to see whether there is any 'objective' basis for them, but rather to see what gives rise to them in one's consciousness in the first place (e.g., perceptions of historically-embedded academic traditions, or of broad cultural frames of mind).

The implications are:

- Awareness of deeply embedded cultural prejudices can be heightened if such prejudices are pointed out by the person whose culture is being stereotyped.
- To some extent, typecasting is 'unavoidable' because we all grow up in cultural contexts that are full of stereotypes about who we are ('us') and who 'the other' is ('them'). The challenge is perhaps to acknowledge that we do work with stereotypes, and that we need to allow the experience in cross-cultural interaction to question these deeply embedded orientations towards 'us' and 'the other'.
- Another challenge for cross-cultural communication and cooperation is the tendency to over-generalise or over-individualise. As already noted earlier, 'good' or 'bad' habits of people with a different 'cultural background' are likely to be interpreted as an expression of her/his 'culture' rather than as an individual trait. At the same time, one's cultural background does in fact influence one's behaviour.
- To question stereotyped perceptions and unpack the content of culturally bound categories, however, requires a degree of trust in the group, as well as a sense of belonging, both of which take time to be established.
- There are specific sets of challenges in establishing this level of trust, especially if the interaction between members of the group

is based solely or largely on virtual communication and the group is constituted as a group more or less by accident. There are also other sets of challenges in building up this level of trust between academics and their students.

Third difficulty. A third difficulty concerned *feelings of 'awkwardness', 'embarrassment', 'discomfort' and 'uneasiness'* associated with expressing what one felt during interactions with others, with some of these feelings being triggered off by 'cultural differences' in the broad sense that the term is being used here. The reports reflecting on the critical incidents in communication indicated that individuals sometimes felt 'misunderstood' or even 'silenced' by the reactions and attitudes of others, and that this created 'tensions in the air' and a negative sense which, of course, one and all have learnt to handle as part and parcel of life, but which are nevertheless very real. That sense of 'hurt' and/or 'anger' and 'frustration' was generally balanced by an awareness that individuals in the group were not being consciously or wilfully unpleasant, and that relations, even if sometimes marked by stress, were generally governed by an overall feeling of good will.

The implications are:

- Cultural assumptions that we carry around with us are often so deeply rooted that they are not immediately available to us to reflect on them, so that individuals end up behaving and reacting in ways that 'silence' or 'misconstrue' others. This could be due to different cultural backgrounds that imply different ways of acting or maybe to different personal styles of acting or their individual 'habitus'. However, the educational work of alerting each other about such cultural forms of power is felt as an awkward exercise, and individuals often prefer to put up with it than to make an issue out of it. The question arises as to whether a multi-cultural learning group should bring these issues and processes to the surface, as one way of dealing with them is to articulate them. This would

however require particular sets of skills in human communication and competences in management of group dynamics combined with a high capacity of reflectiveness among the group members – and a strong basis of trust within the group – if the openness and transparency is to be constructive.

Tensions and challenges involving value differences

Project partners may value different aspects of the work they are doing together in different ways. The origin for these differences may be varied, and may be rooted in culture (national or otherwise), stage in the life-cycle (e.g., still having dependent children at home or other relatives to take care for), gender, and so on. Furthermore, differences in what is valued may also be influenced by the institutional requirements and routines of the different universities and national university systems people are based in (e.g., a partner may put more emphasis on product than process because job tenure at his or her institution is dependent on publications) (see also Beerkens & Derwende, 2007). Negotiations about values and meaning are difficult because they easily touch very personal and/or sensitive questions.

The implications are:
- Value differences are important in a group and indeed such differences need to be acknowledged. Due to age, for instance, students in different phases in their life-cycle may have different priorities. They may also have different access to such resources as time and finance, and due to a variety of personal situations, specific targets may be more or less difficult to achieve. Course demands and mutual expectations need to take this into account.
- Different values, irrespective of their origins, need to be acknowledged. Research on group dynamics and group facilitation (Tuck-

man, 1965, 2001) suggests that partners typically go through a series of stages, that is 'forming', 'storming', 'norming', 'performing' and 'adjourning'. It may be important to have facilitators who can 'manage' such processes in order to make sure that value (norming) issues are adequately addressed.

- Negotiations about values and valuing processes are necessary in order to understand each other and find common rules for the group, but this process has to be handled carefully and skilfully.
- Working successfully through the 'norming' stage facilitates trust building among group members, and a great sense of feelings of belonging to the group, shared targets, ownership and commitment.

Tensions and challenges involved in trust-building

The importance of trust-building as a basis for communication between and within cultures came through in many of the critical incidents. Trust can be jeopardised for several reasons, including, for instance, when partners feel that there is not the same level of commitment to the project, or when individuals feel that some of the agendas related to the project are being set elsewhere, or when people feel stereotyped and not recognised as individuals.

The implications are:
- Trust-building should be an explicitly set task for the group. This can be part of the 'norming' process where ground rules are established, and where agreement is reached on appropriate professional behaviour, shared methods, and working procedures and tools.
- Trust is difficult to build up when group members do not know each other well, and this has pedagogical implications (e.g., students and academics may find it difficult to overcome anxieties in asking

questions, which might make them appear to be less gifted than other members in the group or to rise issues that may be sensitive).

- Trust is built up not necessarily by talking about it as a goal, but in actually performing group tasks, around which and out of which group processes will evolve. Some of the most powerful of these team-building processes may not, in themselves, be project-task oriented: leisure activities can sometimes be the most effective ways of creating 'joint foot-ground and contact surface'. They can also create more appropriate contexts in which differences (cultural or otherwise) can be worked out in a positive manner, while in traditional academic contexts the 'script' inherent in the formal situation can easily lead to confrontation, aggression and frustration. Interaction in the context of 'leisure' seems to engage people with each other at a more personal level, possibly lessening the impact of other layers that impact on relationships, derived deep from the history of nation states, language, academic disciplines or gender relations.

- We have to also accept to some extent the limits of active trust-building measures within a given group due to personal relations between the members. Nevertheless, learning groups need to reach a certain level of trust among their members because that is a crucial condition to enable (cross-cultural) learning.

- Ultimately, in organising positive teaching and learning environments, it is clear that actors have to have the competence of 'being human beings', that is of valuing such qualities as tolerance, respect and honesty.

Tensions and challenges
around the medium of communication

(a) Written vs. other forms of expression. Some academic traditions place a great deal of emphasis on the printed word, using journal articles and chapters as the key reference point for discussions in a seminar setting, focusing on exegesis and critical debate in relation to texts. Other traditions use texts only as a springboard to discussion, in which the main focus is not the text itself, but the participant. The function of preparatory documents for planning meetings and learning situation may also be seen differently as are the related expectations toward the other participants concerning this issue. This may also have implications for such pedagogical issues as assessment, with the former tradition privileging written forms of assignment-setting, and the latter oral assessment. Similarly, and possibly for related reasons, some traditions are more open to ICTbased forms of communication between participants in a learning situation. We are therefore here in the realm of cultural patterns of interaction and communication, where again aspects of gender (different ways of expressing masculinities and femininities), of class, of national and also institutional culture are layered into the way we present ourselves to others and open ourselves to them.

(b) English as the language medium. Groups can sometimes be divided by the use of the same language: while they may be using English as the *lingua franca* for communication, the same words (e.g., the term 'case-study') may have different meanings and connotations in the different academic/disciplinary traditions that individuals belong to in their home country. Talking the same language can in fact be even more hazardous for communication than talking in different languages, since attention is focused on the superficial surface of 'sameness' of language, forgetting that the use and meaning of the

English words is inevitably rooted in one's own cultural background and mother tongue.

In addition, those who are not native speakers of English often feel vulnerable when using it as the mode of communication. Many feel that they cannot express their thoughts in a sophisticated way, that they feel 'simple' or even 'stupid' or 'silly' as they search for the 'proper way' of expressing their thoughts in a language that is not theirs, particularly when native English speakers are present. Given that the latter may have had little experience of being in a linguistic minority, they sometimes tend to be insensitive to the fact that language skills are not just linguistic, but also social, and that language is a vehicle and indictor of power in communicative processes. At the same time, more cosmopolitan native English speakers may feel uncomfortable with the linguistic privileges they 'naturally' enjoy in international meetings, and are acutely aware of the fact that others may perceive them as 'colonising' or 'dominating' a forum that in principle should be equitable and democratic. Non-native speakers end up frustrated and vulnerable in this English-speaking space, where meanings shift on what feels, for many, like a slippery and treacherous slope, and where one's intentions and ideas are redefined while one looks helplessly on. It is not surprising, therefore, that many critical incidents spoke of the hegemony of English in a multi-cultural setting as a form of 'symbolic violence', while acknowledging that alternatives were not easy to come by.

(c) The use of technology. The extent to which communication, interaction and group dynamics, such as building up trust, can take place adequately through digital forms of communication is debatable (see Palomba, 2006). The task is made even more complex because the level of skills in using different kind of technologies typically varies between different members of a group, with those who are most skilled tending to give more importance to the value of ICT for learning purposes. Those who are less skilled end up feeling both

incompetent, and possibly also guilty as the unarticulated assumption is that they should put more effort in developing the required skills to reach the level of the other members of the group. Technology in fact quickly became one of the focal themes for the CROSSLIFE team, with one sub-group examining the way ICT can support, or serves as an obstacle to, cross-cultural collaborative teaching and learning.

(d) Feelings of inadequacy. Feelings of inadequacy can be felt by some when certain communications media are used, whether these are ICT-related, or, as noted earlier, language-related. Here, members of a group may inadvertently use their superior knowledge and skills in working in this medium to wield power in the group – or may be perceived by others as doing so. Those whose knowledge and skills are less developed end up feeling inadequate and even vulnerable. Language skills and technical competences are differently developed and being obliged to (or hindered from) acquiring and using them in a collaborative academic enterprise may evoke feelings of being inferior or superior and of being powerful or powerless – all of which are very likely to cause feelings of frustration. The negotiations and the choices for one or the other media is always interwoven with power relations.

The implications are:
- The differences in traditions in what constitutes academic work need to be acknowledged and integrated in CROSSLIFE's way of doing academic work collaboratively. It might imply that partners need to have a shared understanding of the role of documents and texts and the related expectations among the group members. This relates to both the way CROSSLIFE partners communicate with each other, and how communication with and between students is organised and their performance is assessed.
- It might also mean that we value (and accredit) students not just for their written production, but also for other aspects of 'performa-

tivity' (e.g., visual, audio, multimedia products) that may lead to creative and innovative insights about a topic.

- It may also be necessary to have some critical reflection and debate on the way certain media of communication 'frame' our conversations, and how they distribute control and power within the group. While ICT or English language on the one hand are often considered to be tools that empower communication, on the other hand those who feel they have not mastered such tools feel disempowered and rendered vulnerable and insecure in a group.

- While there are issues with preferred modes of communication (which can also have some cultural grounding, but which also relate to age or other personal situations), it may also be that resistance to ICT or struggling with the English language as a medium for communication may reflect other concerns, such as lack of clarity around goals, a lack of motivation to engage in open communication or even a 'hidden strategy' of resistance against the tasks.

- In relation to the use of English, which for many is a second or even a third language, there needs to be a greater realisation of the fact that language skills are both social and linguistic. It is therefore vital that the group creates a 'safe' and inclusive environment that encourages lecturers and students to feel as comfortable as possible when expressing themselves in a foreign language. It also seems important that the issue of English as the language of communication in the group is made the focus of explicit deliberation, so that project partners and students become more aware of the social dynamics and processes inherent in language issues.

Tensions and challenges
around the notion of 'academic traditions'

A project often provides a particular academic environment in which partners are expected to work. The 'rules' of the academic 'game' may be set by the fact that leaders of the project are, for instance, largely embedded in a particular academic discipline or because many (but not all) of the participants share a similar background. As we have noted in the first part of this paper, academic and professional cultures such as sociology, education or economics are ensconced in specific ways of valuing knowledge, in legitimising particular research methodologies and epistemologies, in approaching issues from specific angles, and in approving particular behaviour codes and conventions in the teaching learning setting. Often, too, academic and professional cultures have their own organisational cultures, ways of going about things and of getting things done. In addition, there are shared discourses and similar stances toward several aspects of the project. Partners who are outside of this main academic community or 'tribe' might feel 'apart' unless the group takes it upon itself to make the issue of knowledge and disciplinary cultures an object of discussion and reflection. They may feel marginalised or inferior because they do not share the knowledge and language that the members of the leading discipline have.

The implications are:
- As with the other issues raised, it is clearly important to bring to the surface the ways in which our approach to the material that constitutes the project is steeped in ways of being that are embedded in academic traditions and disciplinary conventions.
- It is probably helpful to define some material that is to constitute the shared knowledge of the group. This foundation can be enriched by further readings suggested by members of the different academic disciplines represented in the group.

Issues related to different roles in the group

Group members typically have different roles. The role of the chair or moderator of a session, for instance, is a critical one in any group process. Many of the challenges for cross-cultural collaboration, as described above, converge in ways that have to be managed by the chair, even though he or she shares that responsibility with partners. Other roles are distributed among various members, and these, once established, tend to limit the range of an individual's behaviour in that context, and become interwoven with that actor's self-perception as well as with the perception that others have of him or her. These role specifications can be understood as the group's collective expectations from one another. The initial phase of group-building in which these roles are established plays an important part in influencing individual behaviour as well as the ways in which individuals represent themselves in the group. This 'positioning' process is shaped by national and disciplinary cultures, and mediated through factors such as age, gender and/or academic status, for instance. These elements and factors combine together in ways that suggest and legitimise different roles, and tend to give different weight to arguments that individuals make. As these roles congeal and become stable, they offer a different scope for acting and expressing oneself in particular ways, and of being heard by others in particular ways too.

It is dynamics such as these that make the moderator's task deeply challenging, and even more so in a cross-cultural environment. The chair has to facilitate group processes in relation to two goals, which are not always complementary: one goal relates to the personal dynamics between members, the other to the attainment of project outcomes. In leading a group session, the chair assumes a certain degree of responsibility for the 'success' of the proceedings. Individuals exercise that responsibility in different ways. However, despite such diversity in 'management' style, one and all need specific competences, especially in finding the right balance between group dynamics and the project

tasks. That balance is even more challenging to achieve given that the demands and dynamics of task-oriented activities (i.e., focusing on outcomes) may clash with person-oriented activities (i.e., focusing on process). The former, for instance, requires a different time-discipline and logic to the latter.

As a chair one has to attend to relations with and between individual members as well as the group as a whole. That has implications for her/his own role. S/he has to balance three 'roles' at one and the same time: (i) being a member of the group as all the other members and contribute by articulating a personal point of view; (ii) being in different personal relationships with the other members of the group; and (iii) being 'in charge' to attend to and organise the group process. These three roles may come into conflict with each other. Additionally these roles are interpreted differently according to the cultural background, gender and personal style of the individual.

In principle, the moderator or the chair should be both process- and goal oriented, should ensure clarity and responsibility, should respect and support individual group members, and should strive to find the right balance between acting as a chair and attending to her or his own specific project-related interests. These *desiderata* are challenging at any time, but in cross-cultural collaborative contexts, that challenge becomes more acute.

The implications are:
- The role of the chair, together with the group's expectation of him or her, should be established as clearly as possible by the whole group. Moderators should then define their role within that framework, with revolving chairpersonship ensuring that differences in style, gender and cultural backgrounds enrich both process and outcome.
- Implicit role expectations could be made explicit, becoming part of the process of negotiating group procedure and protocol.

- The group should be aware of the way rigid role definitions that take place in the team-building process limit the scope of an individual's action and behaviour, and that social learning can be facilitated when members feel they can move beyond ascribed or adopted roles in order to experiment with new forms of practice.
- Chairing skills should be targeted as a goal, particularly when cross-cultural collaborative teams are involved. Such skills can be collectively learnt through providing structured opportunities for reflection.

Concluding comment

Awareness of the ways in which individuals and groups differ is not necessarily an obstacle to communication. Indeed, such awareness can bridge the differences not by encouraging everybody to be the same, or for the project to degenerate into 'group think', but rather to be enriched by the variety of knowledges, traditions, values and perceptions that we bring to the task. Heightened awareness of the way cultures and languages 'talk through us' can lead to better self-understanding, and more satisfying and constructive communication with others and could prevent us at the same time form seeing cultures as monolithic blocs or black boxes. The more we recognise diversity, the less likely are we to fall into the trap of understanding the other via 'a grid of familiar typifications', which lead 'the other as other to remain unnoticed' (Gurevitch, 1988; cited by Akkerman et al., 2006, p. 482). The more we treat the other as 'strange' and 'new', that is the more we treat the otherness of the other not as something to overcome, but something to be augmented, the more likely it is that 'boundary-crossing dialogues turn into a meaning-generating venture' (Akkerman et al., 2006, p. 483).

At the same time, for communication to succeed, there needs to be a constant search for what can be referred to as 'touchstone discourse' (Walker, 1988), that is some common space or ground, a common 'language' which makes interaction and mutual understanding possible. As with the use of English, however, the driving force behind this search for a *lingua franca* is not the hope that we will ever arrive at a stable state of equilibrium, but rather the constant awareness that power is inevitably implicated in all aspects of communication, and that makingit visible is one way of democratising human relationships.

This striving for common ground while simultaneously celebrating, affirming and even augmenting diversity nevertheless gives rise to a number of tensions that are felt whenever two people 'meet', but are possibly more acute in cross-cultural contexts. These tension fields require academics and students to walk the tightrope between:

- Attributing meaning to the notion of 'culture' …
  … without falling into the trap of stereotyping others and being stereotyped by others.
- Being a unique individual …
  … while belonging to a collective (such as nations, disciplines, genders, generations, professions, research method 'camps', political backgrounds, social classes, families, and so on) that influences our behaviour, feelings, perceptions and thinking.
- Allowing the group process to question our identity, given that this is a powerful way of enabling social learning …
  … while at the same time being aware of the limits of this process in an academic and research-driven context, given that this is not a therapy setting.
- Building up trust as the basis of collaboration …
  …even if the group members have come together in a more or less haphazard, accidental manner, and have to interact in a situation where specific outcomes have to be produced within a given time.

Issues such as these are not specific to cross-cultural collaborative projects. However, the latter kind of setting possibly raises and foregrounds these concerns in a more striking manner. The challenge is for individuals committed to 'speaking' across cultures to find their own way in locating themselves and in acting in ways that enable social learning, for the benefit of their own development and of the group(s) they belong to.

Notes

1. The pathway does not in itself lead to a degree, but organises learning within an ECTS (European Credit Transfer Scheme) framework in order to enhance the possibility of incorporation of credits earned during the CROSSLIFE project within the post-graduate degree programmes at universities participating in the project. For further information about CROSSLIFE see: http://www.peda.net/veraja/uta/vetculture/academic_apprenticeship/crosslife
2. Three workshops were held in all (one in London, another in Tampere, and a third in Malta).
3. There are examples of such a focus in international literature (e.g., Wang et al., 2005), but to our knowledge, few examples focusing on the issue as it plays it-self out in EU-funded projects (for two notable exceptions, see Akkerman et al. [2006] and Tartas & Müller Mirza [2007]. Both papers focus primarily, though not exclusively, on the psychological dimensions of collaboration).
4. The members of the group included one academic from Australia, three from Finland, two from Malta, two from Switzerland and two from the UK. Some had worked together on previous projects, while others were new to each other. A total of 14 critical incidents and reflections on these incidents were submitted by nine members of the group. Our task as authors was to provide a theoretical context, to synthesise the reflections made by group members, and to draw out and pull together the various reflections made in ways that might prove useful to teachers and learners involved in cross-cultural educational settings.
5. While we find Snow's (1969) identification of three broad academic cultures – namely cultures of humanities, sciences, and the culture which contains elements of both humanities and sciences (such as sociology and psychology) – unnecessarily polarising, that early characterisation does alert us to important distinctions that have, since then, been explicated in more nuanced terms by the likes of Biglan (1973) who focused on the epistemological aspects of disciplines (hence a continuum between hard to soft sciences, and between pure to applied sciences), and Kolb (1981) who focused on styles of intellectual inquiry (hence a continuum between abstract and concrete reflective, and abstract and concrete active).
6. CROSSLIFE partners also developed pedagogical material in order to help students address some of the process-oriented issues related to cross-cultural collaboration, including the impact of national, gender and disciplinary cultures. A case in point is a set of reflective questions that students were invited to focus on, addressing challenges in working through the medium of English, and in trying to cross 'cultural' borders marked by one's country of origin, gender and academic discipline. In this way, aspects of intercultural communication – including implicit ones such as social roles, values, behaviour, politeness, body language, status symbols, mutual expectations, sense of humour – could be addressed if students and tutors felt that they wanted to reflect on them.

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10

Cross-cultural impacts in Adult Literacy Learning: –An Interpretation from Indian Perspective

Sk Aktar Ali

Abstract – The importance of cross-culturally known total quality management (TQM), a philosophy developed for Western world industrial purposes, is now attracting increasing attention in the field of education globally. Different interpretations of TQM in industry, however, may result in contrasting outcomes when TQM is taken up in cross-cultural adult literacy learning. Using a case study I will understand critically whether there is any scope to introduce TQM in Adult Continuing Education Programme (ACEP) in India. The similarities and differences between underlying principles and methods of TQM and Adult Literacy (AL) will be identified in a literature review, and the feasibility of integrating the TQM principles into AL will be investigated. The following values will be identified during the literature review and used as guiding values of the literacy development to see whether these values are shared by TQM and AL: need-based learning, critical reflection, social uses, shared vision, dialogue, empowerment, continuous improvement, integrity, team-learning etc. Learners in the AL classes will work collaboratively in terms of creating a shared vision of what would be learned during the ACEP and develop contact reflecting that vision. This study will open a new academic debate and try to comprehend whether this amalgamation of TQM and AL principles can empower learners, facilitate change, aid problem solving and value continuous improvement and growth.

Keywords: literacy, adult learning, need, development, total quality management

Introduction

There has been a significant increase in scholarly concern about literacy from a theoretical and cross-cultural perspective in recent years. Previously, the focus of much academic research was upon cognitive consequences of literacy acquisition. In sociolinguistics the emphasis has been on the differences between literacy and orality as channels of communication and in educational contexts upon 'problems' of acquisition and how to 'remediate' learners with reading and writing difficulties. Recently, however the trend has been towards a broader consideration of literacy as a social practice and in a cross cultural perspective. Within this framework an important shift has been the rejection by many writers of the dominant view of literacy as a 'neutral', technical skill, and the conceptualization of literacy instead as an ideological practice, implicated in power relations and embedded in specific cultural meanings and practices – what scholars have described as the 'New Literacy Studies' (Gee, 1992; Street, 1993a, 1993b). From this perspective the relationship between written and oral language differs according to context – there is no one universal account of 'the oral' and 'the written'.

The field of literacy studies can be characterized at present as being in a transitional phase. The new theoretical perspectives are affecting practical programmes unevenly, while the experience of the ground practitioners is feeding differently into academic research. A wide range of efforts has been made to recognize the 'quality' of literacy within this perspective. This piece of writing attempts an overview and a unifying perspective on these developments, addressing a range of literacy sector; commencing with arguments about the quality of literacy in development programmes; citing case studies from my own anthropological field-work in India during the year 2002 and offering some re-analysis of 'total quality' approaches to the 'real' literacy situation. Total Quality Management (TQM) or Total Quality has been adopted as a cross-cultural management paradigm and applied

to the education sector. Thus, learners have right to obtain the best quality education by understanding their needs. Therefore in order to understand the learner's need it is necessary to identify the quality learning embraced by the learners in their cultural settings, since people perceive quality differently. The use of more quality focused approaches for purposes specific within this chapter are intended to help develop and consolidate these new understandings of cross-cultural literacy practices.

Section I
Problems of Adult Literacy Learning

This section is an attempt to apply some principles of *The Cross-cultural Approaches to Literacy* (1993) edited by Brian Street to the understanding of literacy practices in the villages of West Bengal, where I did ethnographic field work during 2002. Searching for a research literature to help make sense of the complexity of the local uses and meanings of literacy in West Bengal, I have concentrated to find instead that the development and educational accounts of literacy at the time – rooted in an autonomous model of literacy – tended to provide accounts of village life that ignored or demeaned local literacy practices.

Literacy Means How to Sign? – A Case Study

Midnapore is one of the backward districts in West Bengal, located in the southern part of India with an area of 14081 sq km and population of 15 million consisting of very rich tribal population. In the last decade, many initiatives have been taken up by the district

which can be termed as people's movement for example total literacy campaign, post literacy campaign etc. Midnapore began to explore the Continuing Education Programme (CEP) directions since 1996 itself. Continuing Education Centres are appropriately named after the great educationist and social reformer of Bengal, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891). A common man/woman will know ICJCK or Ishwar Chandra Jana Chetana Kendra but will take time to respond if s/he is asked about the nearby literacy centre. ICJCK is the place where a Gram Panchayat (Rural Administration) member can be found. This is the place where all the government officials engaged in development programmes will find their audience. These include officials of various departments like agriculture, animal husbandry, health, fisheries, panchayat and rural development. The sum total of all these drives reflected the impressive literacy rate of 75.15% of the district, as per the Census of 2001. However, reality shows a different picture. An important aspect of Midnapore literacy programme was the imaginative idea of linking the literacy movement with the recently formatted Self-help Groups (SHGs) [popularly known as micro-credit groups] which are now very strong in membership. The district administration had taken an important initiative to link up SHG movement with the main Continuing Education Programme (CEP). Main objective of this initiative has been the empowerment of poor learners.

As an ethnographic my interest – not unlike that of the cultural studies approach – was in how this structure actually touched the lives of people 'on the ground', particularly in rural areas where I did my field work, and the ways in which the contradictions and problems generated at the macro level were enacted in terms of people's daily lives at the micro level. There is clearly a tension between the state system of literacy learning and the traditional local understandings which they are practicing in their daily life. Therefore most adult learners approach education in a very ambivalent way. The majority of learners enter the programme because they are more or less forced to do so, and not because of an inner drive or interest.

Case 1

Rahamat Hussain, in mid-40s is an agricultural labourer. He did not go to school in his life. He wants to learn. He said that he wants to be aware and read the government schemes for rural development of the poor like him. He saw that his relative has the ability to read and write, so he is ashamed of himself. However, he found that it was incredibly negative for him. In addition, he said that he could not use it in practical life and thought it to be simply ridiculous. He enrolled in an adult literacy centre and was regular, but felt that his new literacy skills from the centre were not helping him in performing the daily literacy tasks related to his requirement.

Case 2

Another adult learner Raju Saha, a carpenter said that he is madly frustrated about it. He further said that he attended couple of classes but found it irrelevant for his occupation. He said he needs to learn to maintain accounts in order to develop his business further. But he was struggling to relate classroom education to maintaining his accounts. He felt discouraged and was becoming irregular in attending the class. One day one of his friends Sushil Saha, working in Anganwadi (Rural Mother and Child Care Centre), asked him about his progress. Raju explained his problem, and his friend agreed to help him in maintaining his account every day after the end of his work. So they sat together at every night at one of their friend's place that also has a carpenter shop. And Sushil showed him how to write down the daily accounts of business. Raju said that within a very short time, he had learned confidently to maintain his own accounts. In his opinion it was not the class, but the friend's practical assistance that helped him to learn how to maintain his accounts. And that made him confident; whereas government's generalized literacy programme could not meet the personal literacy ambitions of this carpenter.

Case 3

Sukla Majhi, one of the women learners, is a housewife. She wants to learn to teach her daughters. However, she found that the literacy classes are very irregular and disappointing. She said that she does not like the way of teaching in the classes. Take another example of Sandip Burman, a 35 years old agricultural labourer. He was introduced to some credit schemes for the agricultural labourer by his neighbour, Biplab Burman, a teacher. Sandip went there and found that only the literate ones could access this benefit. He got shocked. He went to the literacy class and tried to learn but within a month, he lost his interest. Out of 15 students in the class, everybody dropped out and he was one of them. He found that the way of teaching and curriculum are very childish where the teacher treated them as a child.

Case 4

The central issue here is that many adults perceive that the literacy being offered in the adult literacy classes is irrelevant to their personal and immediate interests. In some of the villages studied, a number of men and women were members of Self-help Groups organized by the Block Development Office (BDO). They attended group meetings where they were asked to sign papers, read resolutions and minutes, and maintain accounts with the agency in order to take a loan and reply on a regular basis (mostly weekly); thus they needed to read and sign for the amounts of the savings, loans, and repayments as well as for dealing with their pass books. The prerak (teacher) was asked to train the group members using literacy primers for six months in the belief that this would help the group members in maintaining their accounts as also encourage them to play a more active role in the group and take better initiatives in using their loans to earn a higher income. But it was observed that group members are more interested in developing their skill to sign and literacy primer is not relevant any more. For example, Swapna Roy, Gopa Burman, Rani

Roy, Sumana Burman, Ritu Burman, Parbati Burman, Rekha Roy, Lakshmi Roy, Minu Burman and Putul Burman, these are the names of the members of Self-help Group in Ghatal village in Midnapore. When I asked about the success of their group, Swapna Roy, one of the adult learners and SHG members told that all the members of their group have participated in literacy class at the time of Total Literacy Programme. They learned few things especially how to sign. But thereafter they forgot everything. Roy said that they have comprehended their daily lives without literacy. Therefore, they do not feel like attending the literacy class again. She went on to say that when they came to know that there is an economic possibility through SHG they thought of participating in the Continuing Education Programme in the hope that it can change their lives. The bank will see their savings and their signs while government officials have told them that they will be taking care of the rest of things. Therefore, they concentrated on signs and found that literacy primer was not addressing this issue. After six months they got the loan with the help of government officials who told them to start incense stick business. They got two days training on how to make incense sticks. She said that they started making incense sticks for their economic gain but even in this case they had to face lot of problems like keeping record, proper marketing of the product and so on. They have now come to realize the significance of literacy. Sukumar Roy, one of the SHG members in Daspur village in Midnapore was very disappointed with literacy. He said they need literacy which can promote their desire.

What is wrong in Literacy Learning?

As a major social intervention effort, the literacy movement in India has witnessed many expected and unexpected outcomes. The mass campaign approach witnessed a massive social mobilization, mainly of the educated to join the campaign for literacy on a voluntary basis. The National Literacy Mission, which came into existence in 1988, acts as the nodal agency working for eradication of illiteracy. When Ernakulam district, Kerala achieved the distinction of becoming the first literate district in the country, we got the concept of the Total Literacy Programmes (TLPs). It is the first phase of a major societal campaign systematically followed up by a second phase having the Post Literacy Programmes (PLPs) as its component. As such, there is no distinctive dividing line between the TLPs and PLPs; the latter being the ongoing programme of Continuing Education Programmes. The model of TLP had achieved high literacy rate in Ernakulam within their socio-cultural context, so it was assumed that this model would be applicable for the whole country. Stereotype of institutionalized literacy programme is worked in such a way that on the surface it appears transformation through awareness, but in substance tends to weaken and confine the same by making sure that the aspirations and operations stay within the prescribed boundaries. It is closer to what Lankshear (1987) has called 'improper literacy' which fails to enable people to have control over their lives through identification, understanding and consent.

The National Adult Education Programme (NAEP), the first countrywide programme in 1978, viewed literacy as a means to bring about fundamental changes in socio-economic development. It aimed at covering 100 million illiterate persons in the age group 15-35 in the adult education centres across the country. Based on the findings of the evaluation of the NAEP, the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1986 suggested creation of a National Literacy Mission

(NLM) to design and manage large-scale literacy programmes. The NLM launched the Total Literacy Campaigns (TLPs) in 1990. The objective was to impart functional literacy to the non-literates in the age group 15-35. The NLM defined literacy as: 'acquiring the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic and the ability to apply them to one's day-to-day life' (National Literacy Mission, 1994). This definition was based on an earlier, almost similar definition formulated by the National Adult Education Programme (1978) panel of experts that led to a nationwide evaluation of the literacy abilities of young adults. This definition should be viewed, however, within the historical context of an evolving concept of literacy that has over time moved from a school-based model – driven by the assumption that literacy for adults can be equated with that for children – to a functional set of skills or competencies to be mastered, to the more recent social and cultural notion of multiple literacies (Merrifield, 1998; Street, 1995). Ideally speaking, it proposed that through literacy programmes, the NLM would like to make the masses 'aware of the causes of their deprivation'. This process of development strategy is, ofcourse, a 'given' programme and not something that has emerged through the participation of the masses after they have become 'aware of the causes of their deprivation'.

NLM concerned with the 'future of literacy' must ask themselves what are the consequences for social groups and for whole societies acquiring literacy. An argument repeatedly brought out in this chapter is that the 'autonomous' model (Street, 1995) is dominant in NLM and other agencies concerned with literacy. It tends to be based on the 'essay-text' form of literacy, dominant in certain western and academic circles, and to generalize broadly from this narrow, culture-specific practices. The model assumes a single direction in which literacy development can be traced, and associates it with 'progress', 'civilization', individual liberty and social mobility. It isolates literacy as an independent variable and then claims to be able to study its consequences. These consequences are classically represented in terms of economic 'take-

off' or in terms of cognitive skills. An 'ideological' model, on the other hand, forces one to be more aware of grand generalizations and cherished assumptions about literacy 'in itself' (Street, 1984, 1995). In other words, this second model concentrates on the specific social practices of reading and writing. Therefore it recognizes the ideological and culturally embedded nature of such practices. The changes being wrought by a present-day literacy programme may likewise strike deep at the roots of cultural belief, a fact that may go unnoticed within a framework that assumes that reading and writing are simply technical skills. The medieval example, rooted in the changes brought out by the conquering Normans to Anglo-Saxon England, also brings out the extent to which power relations, often of a colonial kind, underlie many literacy programmes. There too, as in many modern cases, the indigenous population had literacy practices of its own that were undervalued and marginalized by the standard being introduced. People are not 'tabula rasa', writing for the novel imprint of literacy, as many campaigns seem to assume.

Nonetheless, consensus about what it means to be literate has never been entirely achieved. The statement in the chapter on adult literacy in the *Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education* (Merriam and Cunningham, 1989) that the criteria for being literate remain elusive is as true as a decade ago. According to Mikulecky (1987, p. 213), cited in Taylor's chapter on adult literacy (1989, p. 467 cited in Merriam and Cunningham, 1989), *'...it is unlikely that anyone will arrive at an acceptable level or criterion allowing one to accurately and usefully state the number of illiterates'. Some argue that any attempt to define literacy in this way is a political act – that literacy is an entity, such as a predetermined set of skills or knowledge, that one either has or does not have.'* Similarly, Lankshear and O'Connor (1999) argue that literacy is not a 'commodity' but that '... literacy is practice... the practice(s) people engage within routines of daily life' (1999, p. 32). As we can see from the above examples adult literacy learning almost invariably comes after starting some kind of activity. Adults

relatively rarely learn in anticipation of some forthcoming event; they normally learn after the experience has commenced (Rogers, 1992). Motivations are rarely positive or negative but seem to be a mixture of social, individual and technical elements with a focus on the concrete skills that the adult expects to gain. Simultaneously, there is a great deal of desperation or resignation in most statements. It becomes apparent that the actual approach to adult education is very ambivalent and even confused, when adults tell of their everyday lives, their life histories and the values that they have been orienting their lives towards so far (Street, 2001).

In practice, in our society schools have developed as the institutions where all of us have to learn many things that we have not chosen ourselves. Adult education centres have developed in a way where adult's attitudes to centres and education are usually very ambivalent. On the one side, we know that learning can be useful, rewarding and even joyful in many ways. On the other side, institutional learning is often demanding, normally directed by others. In this connection, it may be said that learning is a desire-based function (Illeris, 2002). Nevertheless, in reality, the institutional authority controls learning of the adults. It has been found that some of the adults are attending by force; some of them have no alternative but to participate in the literacy programme. Interestingly, it shows that in the preliminary stage, adults have participated with great enthusiasm but within a certain period they lost all hopes. Therefore it is true that the contextualization of the literacy classes is not integrated with the adult's life. As we know according to Illeris, 'social interaction process is seen as a necessary and integrated part of learning' (Illeris, 2002). Therefore, adults in Midnapore have not been able to internalize the literacy classes effectively. In sum, adult's attitude is thus very often ambiguous and contradictory.

The efforts on the part of the education establishment to define literacy over time have shown a consistent propensity to take a positivist approach towards the issue. In other words, they demon-

strate an underlying assumption that there are identifiable minimum skills that everyone needs to function in our society; that these skills can be measured by 'objective', mostly paper-and-pencil tests, and that their acquisition equates with such objectives as, for example, the 'ability to apply in day-to-day life' (National Literacy Mission, 1994). There is an even more alarming tendency in the literacy field today, however, that is created by the funding process for programme development. The monolithic purpose for adult literacy programme today seems to be sign acquisition. Other stated objectives such as achieving one's goal and developing one's knowledge and potential are largely being ignored.

Section II
The Possibilities of TQM in Literacy Learning

In this section I would like to see how the following values of need-based learning, critical reflection, social uses, shared vision, dialogue, empowerment, continuous improvement, integrity, team-learning and the like are shared by 'total quality' and education.

Total Quality Learning & Adult Learning

Lewis and Smith (1994) argue that a quality orientation emphasizes principles long valued in academia such as knowledge, education, experimentation, continuous improvement, management by facts, ongoing development and so on (Lewis & Smith, 1994). In addressing the methods from industry to academia, however, there are some differences which we need to keep in mind. The basic principles are unchanged, but the specifics of the application involve new elements.

While it is as unrealistic to suggest importing business Total Quality Management (TQM) into adult learning so it is to attempt applying Japanese management culture into U.S. business.

TQM integrates all functions and processes within an organization with the goal of achieving customer satisfaction. It requires thinking about quality throughout the process, from start-to-finish (Omachonu & Ross, 1994) not just at the quality control inspection point. We know that TQM is grounded on the principles of Deming, Juran and Crosby, who value quality as an obsessive goal attained through customer service and satisfaction, defect elimination and cycle time reduction. TQM's goal is to eliminate variation in processes using factual data. Based on the Japanese principle of 'Kaizen' or 'continuous improvement', TQM 'is the single most important concept in Japanese management' (Imai, 1986, p. xxix). It means improvement-ongoing improvement-for everyone- everything.

Adult learning, like quality, has multiple ideas (Courtney, 1990). Beder (1989) offers that the basic purposes of adult learning fall into four categories:

a) to facilitate change in a dynamic society,
b) to support and maintain good social understanding,
c) to promote productivity, and
d) to enhance personal growth.

We saw that adult learning has also been defined as the process of development and growth or in other words, 'progressive movement towards the solution of problems and the development of abilities to encounter similar future problems with greater competencies' (Boyd, Apps and associates, 1980, pp. 10-11). Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) define adult learning as 'a process whereby persons whose major social role characteristic of adult status undertake systematic and sustained learning activities for the purpose of bringing about changes in knowledge, attitudes, values and skills' (Darkenwald & Merriam,

1982, p. 9). Although learning is defined in many ways, Merriam and Caffarella observe that most definitions involve behavioural change and experience. I can argue that the discussion I made regarding experiential learning to define real literacy approach could better fit into this process to enhance adult's personal growth.

The connection between TQM and adult literacy learning lies in the fact that both are oriented towards creating the results in an improved system. Both are individual oriented, it means TQM is customer-oriented and adult literacy is adult learner-oriented. TQM identifies the customer as the purchaser of the product, while adult literacy recognizes adult as the beneficiary of literacy learning. TQM and adult literacy are change-oriented at both individual and societal levels. Each emphasizes learning based on the belief that change cannot occur without it. Additionally, adult literacy and TQM are focused on problem solving with the goal of making meaningful change both individually and collectively. TQM's value of kaizen or continuous improvement is analogous to adult literacy's emphasis on growth and lifelong learning.

One can argue that TQM and adult literacy share some common challenges. Just as managers struggle to share power and decision making with employees, instructors grapple with empowering learners as well. Merriam and Caffarella note that, 'recently there has been a call for the merging of these extremes of instructor-directed versus learner-directed instruction in formal settings to account for the specific learning situation and the learner's characteristics' (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991, p. 26). Adult literacy has long espoused the value and importance of empowering learner. TQM offers a similar format in the workplace. Viewing the learner as an equal partner in learning further embraces adult literacy and TQM values. Cornesky (1993) in his book *The Quality Professor* suggests that the learner's relationship to instructor is that of 'customer to vendor, worker to manager and product to artisan simultaneously' (Cornesky, 1993, p. v). Lane (1993) notes: 'TQM is rooted in the teaching/learning philosophy' (Lane,

1993, p. 48). Steele (1989) also opines, *'adult education [literacy] is a leader among other social fields in the use of a customer [learner] perspective'* (Steele, 1989, p. 261).

As mentioned earlier, TQM focuses on defining customers and understanding their unique needs. Adult educators seek to understand their learner's need, which could also be defined as customer. It is true that the purpose of receiving needs from industry and adult literacy may differ but the basic principles could be same in terms of customer satisfaction or learner satisfaction. Traditional teacher-centered instructions concentrate on tasks and content, rarely taking time to build network among learners. Learner-centered instructions, on the other hand, build relationships and teams in the TQM and adult literacy tradition. They set goals as they facilitate teamwork among the learners. They abhor performance objectives (Cornesky, 1993).

Both TQM and adult literacy principles are systemic in that they seek to understand change processes with a goal of improving the whole. Ross (1993) observes that in TQM 'the *driver* of the entire system is the customer' (Ross, 1993, p. 212). He sees the input as being leadership and the output as customer satisfaction. Deming's systematic approach to quality improvement is exemplified in his Plan-Do-Check-Act Cycle (PDCA Cycle) (Walton, 1990). And we know that the steps involve planning a change, doing it, checking the result and depending on them standardizing the change or beginning the PDCA cycle with the information gained. Adult literacy also
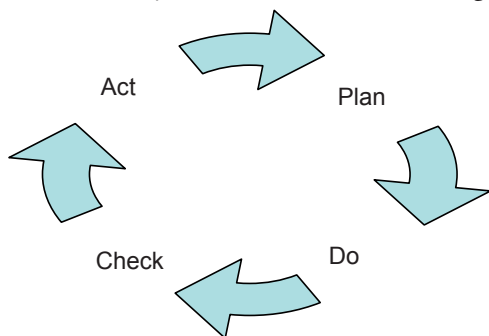
Figure 1. PDCA Cycle (Dahlgaard, 1994).

embraces a systemic approach (Rogers, 1992; Knowles, 1990; Jarvis, 1992). I have made a comparative discussion between PDCA cycle and Knowles' (1990) use of learning contracts. The steps of creating a learning contract include the following points:

a) diagnose your learning needs;
b) specify your learning objectives;
c) specify learning resources and strategies;
d) specify evidence of accomplishment;
e) specify how the evidence will be validated;
f) review your contract with consultant;
h) carry out the contract; and finally
g) evaluate your learning.

I can argue also in another way that adult literacy learning's focus on 'kaizen' and learning could be exemplified by Bowles and Hammond (1991) and Chobot (1989). Bowles and Hammond (1991) present 'ten commandments of continuous improvement' based on their study of 50 companies engaged in quality processes. They include:

a. Put the customer first,
b. Innovate constantly,
c. Design quality into products and services,
d. Improve everything continually,
e. Create and support a safe and open work environment,
f. Do not shoot the messenger,
g. Stop imitating the Japanese,
h. Use time wisely,
i. Do not sacrifice long term improvement for the short term, and
j. Quality is not enough.

These principles are similar to continuous learning in adult literacy (Rogers, 1992) defined as 'the process of learning that continues throughout one's lifetime based on individual needs, circumstance, interest and learning skills' (Chobot, 1989, p. 377). As we see both adult literacy and TQM recognize the initiative within people; each has framework for self-directing learning and working. Self-directing learning is 'a form of study in which learners have the primary responsibility for planning, carrying out and evaluating their own learning experiences' (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991, p. 41). Merriam and Caffarella note that participation in self-directing learning is significant across the population. Self-directing work teams are defined as, members who are 'empowered to exercise control over their jobs and optimize efficiency and effectiveness in the total process rather than the individual steps within it' (Omachonu & Ross, 1994, p. 174).

Prevention versus the detection of defects is a core quality principle. It is also similar to adult literacy's de-emphasis of traditional modes of assessment such as the proverbial multiple choice testing instrument. The goal of prevention is to stop defective learning or quality before the final product is finished. Hubbard (1993) notes, 'one of the most challenging and potent lessons that educators can learn from the factories is that assessment efforts, if they are to be efficacious in improving quality, must focus on prevention and improvement, not ranking and sorting' (Hubbard, 1993, p. 81). Spanbauer (1993) also supports this stance. Deming was an ardent supporter of eliminating performance appraisal and other assessment tools that fostered fragmented thinking and acting, and competition among individuals at the expense of the larger system. He stated: *it is a mistake to suppose that if you cannot measure the results of an activity, you cannot manage it. The fact is that the most important losses and gains cannot be measured, yet for survival they must be managed. Examples of gains and losses are grades in school…annual appraisal of people on the job, even of teachers; ranking with reward and punishment; incentive pay; monetary reward for suggestion...'* (Walton, 1990, pp. 9-10). By allowing both workers

and learners to be involved in how they will be assessed and working to prevent defects, this value is accomplished in both TQM and adult literacy education.

Orientation towards continuous growth, systemic thinking and customer/learner satisfaction are critical to both TQM and adult literacy, but not enough. The crux of effectiveness relies on the strength of relationships. Crosby emphasizes that relationships and quality are two keys to successful leadership (Bowles & Hammond, 1991). Daloz (1986) observes that 'development means successively asking broader and deeper questions of the relationship between oneself and the world' (Daloz, 1986, p. 236). He also stresses that trust is a key element necessary to building relationships and helping people learn and grow. He suggests that we must listen to learner's stories, view ourselves as guides of their learning journey, plan meetings and classes to promote development, bring others who are empathetic to our concerns as also recognize that our growth depends on learners (Doloz, 1986). This can be compared with constructivist way of adult learning based on learner's experience. Merriam and Caffarella (1999) point out that it is true that in constructivist theory learner's knowledge is obtained from their experiences, it is a collaborative process. This is especially important to understand social learning. Constructivists view the learner as building new knowledge gained from experiences that has already been obtained. As knowledge is built and mistakes are made, learning opportunities lead to new concepts or ideas. As a result, learners take an active role in the learning experience. Collaboration with other learners is encouraged as it can provide alternate perspectives to consider. In addition, learners bring experiences to help fill in gaps in new knowledge and facilitate higher order thinking (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). Constructivist learning, including the concept of situated learning, thus has great relevance to adult literacy programmes (Askov, 2000). Teachers can design with learner's instruction to meet the learner's needs, interests, background knowledge and skills. In fact, literacy activities become meaningful to the extent that they are

needed in interaction with others and with the content to be learned. Common knowledge and experience of the participants are the basis for literacy curriculum. In a family literacy classroom, for example, the common content could be the family concerns related to parenting decisions. In a workplace literacy setting, it could be around the issues applicable in the workplace needed for the job. Teachers can also encourage critical reflection through questioning and discussion, a process that can lead to transfer from classroom to the learners' daily lives. Teacher's efforts, furthermore, can encourage transfer of learning by explicitly teaching for transfer and offering practice in simulated or real-world situations with others. For example, Taylor's (1998, cited in Aspin (ed.) 2001) comprehensive manual on the transfer of learning in workplace education programmes in Canada describes strategies and provides case studies of transfer of learning. I think Spanbauer's (1993) note is very relevant in this context. He says: 'for education to be effective, every educational experience should shift the focus from less to more interaction between instructors and learners, with learners at the centre of interaction' (Spanbauer, 1993, p. 398). Further, he suggests that teachers must shift from the traditional role of disseminators of information to facilitators of learning.

Relationships, while critical, often pose power issues. In TQM, managers struggle with the conflict between being a 'boss' versus 'coach'. Educators toil with the role contradiction between being a disseminator versus facilitator of learning. The principles of TQM and adult literacy learning offer strategies for bosses to become coaches and for teachers to become facilitators. Regarding the power issue I can argue in another way that sometimes management in the industry imposes their 'given' ideas to the workers which they are supposed to follow. The idea is they should not be hired to think about the work they do because thinking happens to be the rightful role of management. This 'given' idea can be compared to adult literacy learning and it has been shown in the first chapter how international organizations are imposing their set of rules in the national level. So there is no choice to recognize local context.

The belief in transformation experiences characterizes both TQM and adult literacy learning. Deming believed that 'transformation' is required from a managerial and behavioral perspective for true quality to prevail (Dobyns & Crawford-Mason, 1991). In his words, 'the change required is transformation, change of state, metamorphosis in industry, education and government' (Walton, 1990, p. 10). Transformative learning has been widely discussed in adult literacy from understanding growth (Daloz, 1986) to learning based on a change in consciousness characterized by emancipatory learning leading to perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1990, Rogers, 1992).

Section III
Quality Learning and Quality Management

Learning means to make changes – in our knowing, thinking, feeling and doing. Some of these changes are permanent; others are for the time being only. Learning arises from our experiences. It takes many different forms. One can suggest that it is possible to have 'non-learning' responses to experience, but it would seem that s/he is looking for a particular form of learning; it is unlikely that absolutely no form of learning changes will result from our experience (Jarvis, 1987). And learning from experience means that learning is individual; it is not a collective activity. Rogers (1991) says that 'each individual is processing the experience uniquely for personal use. In learning the individual is the agent, even though the agent may be subject to the social pressures of the group' (Rogers, 1991, p. 9). Learning is affected, even controlled to some extent by society or other collectivities, but the learning activity itself – introducing learning changes – is personal (Brookfield, 1983).

Two main models of natural learning have been identified. They have been called 'information-assimilation' and 'experiential learning'

(Kolb, 1984), but it would seem better to call them the 'input' and 'action' models (Rogers, 1992).

a) Input learning: In this learning, the learner is relatively passive: s/he responds to new learning from outside. Like a plant, growth depends upon inputs which are controlled by the outsiders. Knowledge or skills or understanding is thus said to be 'given' or 'imparted' to the learner. This learning can be related to 'autonomous model of literacy' or 'colonial literacy' (Street, 1995) as already mentioned in the first section.

b) Action learning: The other mode of learning is one in which the learner is active, searching out the material s/he needs trying to make sense of his/her experience. Human beings, it is pointed out, are not like plants; they can decide to take the initiative in their own learning.

Experiential Learning Cycle

Now as per my discussion emphasis is laid on current writings on 'reflexive observation' as one of the main tools for active learning (Kolb, 1984). Freire and others have suggested that most learning is accomplished by critically analyzing experience (Freire, 1992; Mezirow, 1990; Kolb, 1984; Jarvis, 1987 cited in Jarvis, Holford & Griffin, 2003; Illeris, 2002; Rogers, 1992). For over thirty-five years research based on Experiential Learning Theory (ELT) (Kolb, 1984; Kolb & Kolb 2007a & b) has been advocated for and contributed to this shift in perspective. ELT draws on the work of prominent 20th century scholars who gave experience a central role in their theories of human learning and cross cultural development – notably John Dewey, Kurt Lewin, Jean Piaget, Williams James, Carl Jung, Paulo Freire, Carl Rogers and others – to develop a dynamic, holistic model of the process of learning from experience and a multi-linear model

of adult development. ELT is a dynamic view of learning based on a learning cycle driven by the resolution of the dual dialectics of action/reflection and experience/abstraction. The process of learning from experience is ubiquitous, present in human activity everywhere all the time. The holistic nature of the learning process means that it operates at all levels of human society from the individual, to the group, to organizations and to society as whole.

ELT defines learning as 'the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience' (Kolb, 1984, p. 41). The ELT model portrays two dialectically related modes of grasping experience – Concrete Experience (CE) and Abstract Conceptualization (AC) – and two dialectically related modes of transforming experience – Reflective Observation (RO) and Active Experimentation (AE). Experiential learning is a process of constructing knowledge that involves a creative tension among the four learning modes that is responsive to contextual demands. The process is portrayed as an idealized learning cycle or spiral where the learner 'touches all the bases' – experiencing, reflecting, thinking and acting – in a recursive process that is responsive to the learning situation and what is being learned. Immediate or concrete experiences are the basis for observation and reflection. These reflections are assimilated and distilled into abstract concepts from which new implications for action can be drawn. These implications can be actively tested and serve as guides in creating new experiences (see Figure II).
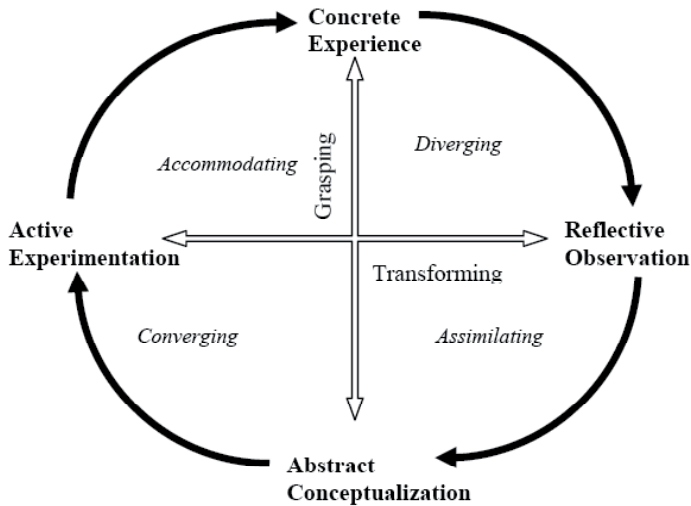
Figure 2. Experiential Learning Cycle (Kolb, 1984).

Experiential Learning Theory (ELT) integrates the work of the foundational experiential learning scholar around six propositions which they all share:

a) *Learning is best conceived as a process, not in terms of outcomes.* To improve learning in adult literacy education, the primary focus should be on engaging learners in a process that best enhances their learning – a process that includes feedback on the effectiveness of their learning efforts. '… education [literacy] must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience: …the process and goal of education [literacy] are one and the same thing' (Dewey, 1897, p. 79).

b) *All learning is re-learning.* Learning is best facilitated by a process that draws out the learners' beliefs and ideas about a topic so that they can be examined, tested and integrated with new, more refined ideas.

c) *Learning requires the resolution of conflicts between dialectically opposed modes of adaptation to the world*. Conflict, difference and disagreement are what drive the learning process. In the process of learning one is called upon to move back and forth between opposing modes of reflection and action, feeling and thinking.

d) *Learning is a holistic process of adaptation*. It is not just the result of cognition but involves the integrated functioning of total person – thinking, feeling, perceiving and behaving. It encompasses other specialized models of adaptation from the scientific methods of problem solving, decision making and creativity.

e) *Learning results from synergetic transactions between the person and the environment*. Stable and enduring patterns of human learning arise from consistent pattern of transaction between the individual and his/her environment. The way we process the possibilities of each new experience determines the range of choices and decisions we see. The choices and decisions we make to some extent determine the events we live through, and these events influence our future choices. Thus, adults create themselves through the choice of actual occasions they live through.

f) *Learning is the process of creating knowledge*. ELT proposes a constructivist theory of learning whereby social knowledge is created and recreated in the personal knowledge of the learner (Potgieter, 1999). This stands in contrast to the 'transmission' model on which current literacy practices would be based where pre-existing fixed ideas are transmitted to the learner (Mezirow, 1990).

Two comments, however, need to be made about this learning cycle. The first is that learning includes goal, purposes, intentions, choice and decision-making; and it is not at all clear where these elements stand in the cycle. Some decisions are needed before translating reflexive observation into action, before turning from abstract conceptualization into active experimentation; but equally, decisions and goals occur at other points in the cycle. They tend to be omitted from discussions of this view of natural learning. Secondly, it is likely that learning styles

will vary according to the type of learning being engaged in. Reflexive observation is undoubtedly important for emancipatory learning and no doubt useful in other kinds of learning as well, and I can see that it has considerable importance for the literacy and training component of development programmes. A good deal of adult learning does not comprise reflexive observation on experience (Rogers, 1992), setting up hypotheses and testing them out in action:

➢ There is the acquisition of facts, information;
➢ There are those sudden and apparently unassisted insights which we all experience from time to time;
➢ There is the learning which comes from the successful completion of some task of haphazard experimentation;
➢ There is the memorization of data or processes;
➢ There are those changes inspired by watching others.

And so I could go on; learning is more than just critical reflection. Probably all adults spend part of their time reflecting on experience but some are more strongly driven in this respect than others. Learning is a varied and complex activity: and the adults who engage in it are varied and complex.

Another important contribution to the reflexive observation concept is Situated Learning Theory (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Like ELT, situated learning theory draws on Vygotsky's (1978) activity theory of social cognition for a conception of social knowledge that conceives of learning as a transaction between the person and the social environment. Situations in situated learning theory like life space and learning space are not necessarily physical places but constructs of the person's experience in the social environment. These situations are embedded in communities of practice that have a history, norms, tools and traditions of practice. Learning is thus a process of becoming a member of a community of practice through legitimate peripheral participation (e.g. Self-help Groups). Situated learning enriches the

learning space concept by reminding us that learning space extends beyond the teacher and the classroom.

Researcher has tried to gauge the scope of TQM in learning with the pertinent question 'why not TQM in adult literacy learning?' If we consider that experiential learning is quality learning for adults then I could see that ELT offers a way to study TQM as a learning process that is dynamic and holistic, operating at the level of the individual, the team and the organization which is culturally embedded nature in such practices. When learning is defined holistically as the basic process of human adaptation, it subsumes more specialized managerial processes such as entrepreneurial learning, strategy formulation, creativity, problem solving, decision making and leadership. In ELT these specialized TQM processes tend to emphasize particular phases of the learning cycle. Entrepreneurial learning leads to highlight the accommodating phases of the learning cycle while strategy formulation tends to emphasize the assimilating phases. Creativity emphasizes the diverging phases while problem solving and decision-making stress on converging. Leadership style tends to be related to leaning style but is most effective when it moves through the learning cycle and is adaptive to task demands (Robinson, 2005; Carlsson, Keane & Martin, 1976 cited in Kolb, 1981).
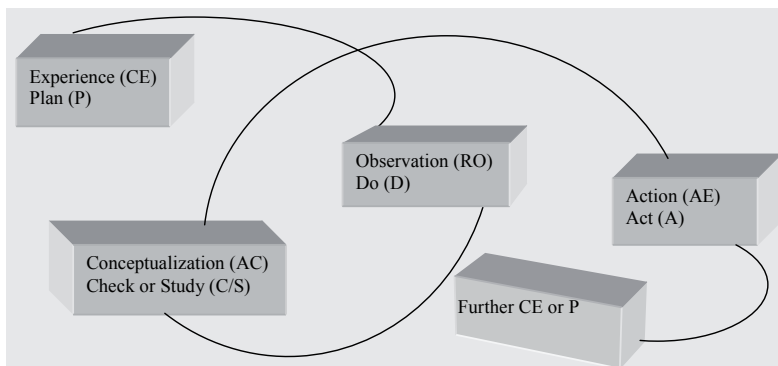
Figure 3. Quality Learning Cycle (Rogers, 1992).

As we know that quality improvements will only be continuous and effective if the improvements start with a good plan (P). After good planning the activities necessary to achieve the plan have to be done (D). After doing phase the results have to be checked (C/S), and after understanding the results, it is possible to act (A) in order to improve the processes (see Figure I). Now in the learning cycle we saw that it is starting with concrete experience (CE), proceeding through reflective observation (RO) and abstract conceptualization (AC) leading to active experimentation (AE) (see Figure II). The RO stage of the learning cycle is, however, complex. For one thing, as Freire (1992) indicates, it includes a judgement reflecting critically on CE. It is not enough to sit and think about experience: criteria drawn from other sources need to be applied to experience for learning to take place, some input is needed as well as RO on experience. This process could be defined in P and D processes in TQM where it includes a critical reflection on P. Some scholars tend to insist that the main way in which this outside material is fed into the process is through dialogue – dialogical learning is vogue at the moment; but outside criteria can also come from reading or from films or other media without any element of dialogue, so long as the learner engages with this material. It is

important to mention one point as Kolb has indicated, that reflection will sometimes lead to a stage of creating generalization ('abstract conceptualization', as he terms it), therefore hypotheses are formed which are then tested in new situations thus creating further concrete experience (Coleman, 1976).

Let us take an example to understand the implication. A group of women wanted to learn how to sew. When they were given a sewing manual and told they needed to read it before they could learn to sew, they lost hope. (They were told that) in order to read the sewing manual, they would have to take a literacy class. They felt that by the time they had learned to read well enough to understand the sewing manual, their interest in sewing would be gone. Literacy was seen as a barrier to their goal, because they and their teacher assumed that reading was a pre-requisite to all forms of learning (Dixon and Tuladhar, 1994). Why should these women wait to learn sewing after reading? Why can't the sewing manual be adapted for use as a literacy learning text? Why can't the sewing class serve as motivation for the literacy lessons? Literacy by itself had no meaning or relevance for those with whom we worked. Adults attended the literacy classes only as long as it took them to find work, anything to help them to augment the family's low income. Learning how to sign their names or write the alphabet would not help to fill their empty bellies. They bluntly told the teachers to go away or stick to teaching children. So we stopped worrying about literacy as an end in itself or as being central to our work. We began to work together with the people in trying to understand their immediate and daily concerns and difficulties; learning together to analyze the problems and understand the root causes; then planning how we could, together, find the answer and, above all, take action.

Towards Real Literacy Learning Approach

The 'real literacy learning approach' shares the same basic principle as existing literacy programmes. It seeks to help people to develop their skills of literacy so that they can use these enhanced skills to undertake real literacy tasks in their daily lives in the main spheres which surround them – at work, in the home and/or in the community – and thus improve the quality of life for themselves and their family/community. But the starting point for this approach is very different from that of traditional adult literacy learning programmes.

The real literacies approach does not start off by stressing the disadvantages of being 'illiterate', by saying that non-literate persons cannot engage in development until they have learned literacy skills. Nor does it exaggerate the benefits of learning to read and write skillfully. Instead, it starts by saying that every person – whatever their level of literacy skills, even entirely non-literate persons – are already engaged in literacy tasks and activities during the course of their lives. Clearly the nature of such activities will vary; but the researches of several persons such as Professor Doronila and her team in the Philippines (Doronila, 1996, cited in Rogers, 1992) have revealed clearly that the level of these activities relate to the cultural and economic activity of the whole community, not to the level of skills of the individual adult. In her case studies, all the members of the fishing communities and hill terrace farmers had lower engagement with literacy tasks than all the members of the urban slums she examined. It had nothing to do with the personal skills of individuals but with the context in which they lived.

The real literacies approach then does not start with the classroom but with what the participants are already doing in their daily lives. It does not start with a deficit model (what the participant's lack, what they cannot do) but with a positive attitude towards the participants (what they are already doing). Non-literate persons receive and write letters; they communicate with the school their children attend, fill

in essential forms, exchange money for goods and services, travel to town; they obtain ration cards, learn from election posters and signs and other notices, understand signs over buildings and symbols on various locations such as hospital, watch people reading newspapers and often access the information in these papers; they scan advertisements and inspect packages in the shops they visit or the medicines they get (Heath, 1983; Barton, 1994; Baynham, 2001).

In dealing with these daily literacy experiences, they adopt their own strategies. Some get other persons to read and write for them. They access and create letters or other forms of literacy through the agency of other persons (family, friends, neighbours, government workers etc). Some use visual clues: one woman in Delhi reported that she had no problem catching her bus home from the market she visited; rather than ask for information she waited until she saw someone she knew getting on the bus and therefore knew this was her bus (Rogers, 1992) They tie knots in string or make marks on walls to keep records of transactions. (It is widely assumed that 'illiterates' cannot count, but there is a great deal of field evidence that they can count and calculate: they may not be able to do school-type sums, but they calculate frequently and accurately) (Rampal et al., 1998, cited in Rogers, 1992).

Literacy is of course a part of a process of communication. Communication consists of a mixture of oral, written and visual elements in different proportions. All persons engaged in communication use all of these different elements. Literate persons use non-literate strategies (visual and oral). Goods are bought not only by reading but more by their location in the shop, their size or packaging or shape or colour. Doors are opened because of signs on them, not because of the words they carry. Even so-called 'literate' people often ask orally about buses rather than read the complicated and small print of the bus timetable. To say it more simply, we all use a range of communication strategies (Street, 2001).

The case study of the woman in Delhi who said that she chooses her bus by the sight of other persons can be used to explore this further. The bus company wishes to communicate to its users that this bus will be going to certain places. It uses a number and the name of one place on its signboard; and those who ask other more knowledgeable persons or who consult the timetable or who already know from experience realize that in the process of reaching its end point, the bus would pass close to the point where they wish to be, although this is not stated openly. Few buses (usually only express coaches) indicate every stopping place; they communicate their stopping points indirectly through a single sign and name. On the other side of the equation, the woman concerned accesses that information in her own way. She joins in the social communication of her own community. She is not excluded from that community because she cannot read and write. She, like all non-literates, engages in real literacy tasks using her own skills and experience.

In traditional literacy programmes, the term 'content' means two things: the special teaching-learning texts (primers and other teaching-learning materials such as flash cards etc.) which the providers prepare and issue; and secondly, specially prepared texts designed either to get information across or to help the readers to improve their literacy skills. 'Content' refers to those pieces of writing created specifically to help people to learn something. They may be books, booklets or other printed matter written by experts or by participatory workshops; they may be learner-generated where the participants help to prepare the learning contents. In the real literacies approach, however, 'contents' are not something specially written for learning. They are the real written or printed texts existing in the local community. In every town and village there are lots of these materials – election posters, bus tickets, bank forms, T-shirts, religious materials, calendars, graffiti on walls, wrappings around food or cigarettes or medicines, newspapers etc. They get these real literacy contents everywhere. Let me give an example, when the 'real literacies approach' was first being developed in connection with the training programme for adult literacy workers

from Bangladesh in 1995, stress was laid on identifying and using these 'real literacy contents' in class (Education for Development, 1997-98). The literacy workers (at facilitator and middle level management) were encouraged to go out into the community to help the participants to survey what texts existed in the local environment and to bring these into the classes. The facilitators were trained in how to use such texts for learning literacy skills. Government notices, graffiti on walls, extension leaflets, post office material, health forms, newspapers and magazines, shop advertisements etc. were among the materials used in classroom contexts for learning literacy skills.

Conclusion

I have initiated my study to understand the phenomenon of 'quality'. We are aware that 'quality' revolution began in business and industry first in Japan and later on in United States with the aspiration to obliterate decades of economic decline. Business and industry have embraced the total quality culture movement to rise out of crisis brought on by poor management, short sightedness and mediocre quality. I have realized that this cross-cultural total quality setting could be an eye opener for me to understand 'quality' in adult literacy learning. Today some of the scholars look at TQM as a strategy to ensure quality in education. They emphasize on simple transplantation of this approach to education. But I disagree with this view. Being fully aware of the tradition of transplanting ideas from one field to another in social sciences especially in comparative education I would argue that it is neither feasible nor is it a judicious decision to merely transplant an idea from one place to another without knowing its basic principles. Contextualized quality in industry may not be acknowledged in adult literacy. 'Quality' as defined by TQM is not acceptable to me in its entirety. After having discussions with the eminent personalities in this field I do believe that instead of

talking much about strategy, we could concentrate on the process to ensure quality in industry. For example, we could focus on 'customer satisfaction' or 'continuous improvement' – the way followed by TQM for the satisfaction of their customer. So in the field of adult literacy, learning could be accommodated to recognize the adult learner's need and motivation. Therefore while defining 'quality' in adult literacy some ideas from TQM could be shared instead of transplanting them as a whole. It is a highly contested term and we can think about it not so much in terms of definitions, implementations and common understanding, but more in terms of a 'cross cultural quality debate'. In other words, rather than searching for how could we transfer TQM, I stress on thinking about metaphors for TQM and discourses about quality that frame our ideas about real literacy learning approach. This 'quality debate' will explore more contextualized real literacy learning and teaching. It can refer to 'quality circle' approaching gradually the 'learning circle' characterized by a continuous dialogue between the teacher and the learner in accordance with the Freirean tradition of 'cultural circle'.

The major thrust of this chapter has been that traditional division between academic research and practitioners' research needs to be broken, the approach which has come to be called the 'New Literacy Studies' (NLS). In the past twenty years NLS, with its socio-cultural approach to examining literacy as it is acquired and used by members of various cultures in relation to structures of power and authority, has become one of the major theoretical frameworks in literacy research. A reframing of literacy as a critical social practice requires us to take account of these historical as well as cross-cultural perspectives in classroom practice and to help students locate their literacy practices. What lessons can we draw from the analysis about literacy research and practices in our country? Scholar's emphasis on both multiple meanings of literacy and its varied social uses is particularly relevant to the designing of any literacy programme in a country like India, characterized by wide cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious

variations. The adult literacy programme launched in several parts of the country under the aegis of the National Literacy Mission has unfortunately followed the fixed, mechanical '3-Rs' (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic) formula of literacy, with very little attention paid to contextual variation within the same national boundaries. John Dewey (1938) took education to be a healthy blend of intentional and incidental learning, of experience and organized learning in a formal set up; and he warned us against an unfortunate split between the two. Formal training could be bookish and remote from our life experiences; similarly not all experiences are benign. Indeed, for Dewey, some experiences are 'miseducative' and hence subject to scrutiny (Dewey, 1938). Simply put, social literacy and schooled literacy ideally should complement each other.

Before I conclude I would say course values could be determined by overlaying real literacy goals. It is an attempt to understand a teaching vision and values similar to the learners' needs that are identified in quality initiative. In the spirit of continuous improvement, the teaching visions and values are improved over time. The overreaching goal involves designing content and teaching-learning sessions to clarify and deepen personal growth and vision of the learner. This is accomplished by having both individuals and teams designing learning activities or creating learning contracts (for example, real literacy approach). Based on giving control on the learner, the learning content is designed to give learners maximum flexibility in determining their learning objectives and plans. In other words, learners will construct their own 'quality learning circle'. For instance, Self-help Groups want to learn how to maintain account, minute book, dealing with the customers and so on. So these could be the learning content and objective which would help them to build a dialogue between themselves. And with the learning content becoming more meaningful they will be in a position to be 'aware of the causes of their deprivation'. Once aware, they will find ways to sustain meaningfully and with a purpose to participate in the lifelong learning process.

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Cross-cultural economy and working life

11

Knowledge Economy and the Developing Countries: The case of Nepal

Nitya Nanda Timsina

Abstract – The study explores the challenges to education and training systems that the knowledge economy presents in developing and transitional countries. The findings suggest that Western-centred studies of globalisation and human capital theory are insufficient to understand the complex social world. Education in developing countries is very much shaped by the social contexts. The study starts by reviewing the ways in which Western countries have adapted to the knowledge economy and explores the way the low-income countries, especially Nepal is expected to transform its higher education systems for the knowledge economy in order to suit its own comparative advantage and national needs. The research asks three fundamental questions: What is knowledge economy? How have rich countries conceptualised the knowledge economy? What would the knowledge economy mean for developing countries, like Nepal? How should Nepal adjust its higher education?

Keywords: globalisation, knowledge economy, higher education, developing countries, Nepal

Introduction: What is the knowledge economy?

In recent years, a flurry of literature, journals, magazines, and websites are increasingly describing today's global economy as 'knowledge economy' or 'knowledge-based economy' and that the economic growth is driven by the accumulation of knowledge. That we have to produce enough knowledge or the right kind of knowledge to survive in this global economy, goes the argument. But what exactly this 'knowledge economy' is and what/which knowledge is most valuable, is a highly contentious matter requiring further research. The objective of this introductory section is to examine what various authors mean by the two words often used together as 'knowledge economy' or interchangeably as 'global knowledge-based economy'.

In recent years, Peter Drucker in his book *The Age of Discontinuity* (1969, pp. 247–249)*,* wrote: ''We're moving from an economy of goods to knowledge economy." The term 'knowledge economy' has become a common usage post-Second World War. More precisely, it becomes prominent since the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989. Until 1990, the use of the concept 'knowledge economy' was not common (Sorlin & Vessuri, 2007 p. 3). A flurry of literature since then has been describing today's economy as 'knowledge economy' and the society as 'knowledge society' interchangeably (see: OECD, 1996; 2004; UNESCO World Report, 2005).

More recently, some scholars would regard the knowledge economy as a new phase of capitalism (Sorlin & Vessuri, 2007, p. 10), others like Robert Reich (1991, p. 81) refers to a shift from 'high volume' to 'high value' production. Still others like Schumpeter equate knowledge economy with 'innovation'. The idea of innovation as a major force of economic dynamics has been followed up by modern Schumpeterian such as Galbraith, Goodwin and Hirschman. In recent years, economists such as Romer and Grossman are developing 'new growth theories' to explain the forces which drive long-term economic growth (OECD, 1996, p. 11). Lundvall (2001, cited in

Kuhn, Tomassini and Simons, 2007,) use 'learning economy' and 'knowledge economy' to mean the same thing. Bell (1973, p.15), who first coined the term 'post-industrial society', prefers to call the modern economy a 'service-intensive economy' instead of 'knowledge economy'. He argues that service industries are taking over manufacturing and knowledge-based industries in the United States. Similarly, Brown & Hesketh (2004, pp. 52–53) argue that the United States in the 21st century will rather remain a service-intensive economy than a knowledge economy. There is therefore a debate whether knowledge based activities or service sector will become more important in future. Farrell and Fenwick (2007, p. 91) argue that the knowledge economy is what has emerged over the last decade in the US, and more recently, European and other late capitalist countries, a widespread policy consensus that stresses the importance and pursuit of a high skill, knowledge-based economy and learning society. Thus, there are diverse historical perspectives about the concept, origin, usage and scope of the knowledge economy in literatures. One of the most difficult questions posed in the analysis of the knowledge economy is: How to know whether a country is a knowledge economy? There are also many dilemmas and controversies surrounding the question of which sector of the economy is shifting from manufacturing to knowledge-intensive activities or what constitutes a knowledge-intensive sector? It is hard to group precisely which industries are called knowledge industries. Thus, identifying which sectors of the economy are knowledge-intensive is a very complex task.

In summary, the concept knowledge economy is contrasted with the agricultural or industrial era. I have coined a new term 'pre-knowledge economy' to mean agricultural and manufacturing era, in which most developing and transitional countries find themselves. Many Western scholars and proponents of the knowledge economy term agricultural and manufacturing as a bygone age and an era of 'scarcity'. They argue that most of the resources get deplete when used overtime. On the contrary, they argue that the knowledge economy

is an economy of 'abundance'. Unlike most resources that deplete when used, knowledge can be shared, and actually grow through application. They argue that the returns actually increases by investing in knowledge, which can increase the productive capacity of other factors of production as well as transform them into new products and processes.

The common formula explaining the production function in the agriculture and manufacturing economy was: L+L+C (Land+Labor+Capital). In the knowledge economy, production functions are explained by an equation: L+L+C+K (+T) (Land, Labor+Capital+Knowledge. Some would like to add Technology). The main rationale for this complex kind of argument is that the investment in knowledge can increase the productive capacity of other factors of production as well as transform them into new products and processes. And since these knowledge investments are characterised by increasing (rather than decreasing) returns, they are the key to long-term economic growth (OECD, 1996, p. 11).

To sum up the main arguments, there is a lack of coherence in the way Western scholars conceptualise the knowledge economy and project its emergence as all pervasive phenomena. There are also conflicting views and opinions about the concept of knowledge economy. Some view the dynamics of the knowledge economy or the shift in the global economy optimistically while others shed a dark and gloomy future. Still some others argue that one of the most immediate consequences of the expansion of a knowledge-based economy would be rich countries growing richer and poor countries remaining at a standstill or becoming even poorer, whether for want of investment in infrastructure or knowledge-producing potential or for lack of standards guaranteeing optimal conditions for knowledge production. While the OECD and The World Bank (1996;2003) view that knowledge could be codified and transmitted through communications and computer networks and could benefit the whole world, David Gabbard (2008, p. 91, eds) see a divided world between the

rich and poor. He critically describes the global economy as 'product of imperialism', 'colonialism', and 'genocide' (including war in Iraq) where rich capitalist countries (referring to the US) seek to attain their goals. He describes the phenomena as 'hunger and cruelty of the markets'. Overall, knowledge economy sounds as though it involves a highly technological sophistication of work and a paradigm change in the way firms operate. Therefore, more analytical works need to be done, on the methodological side and theoretical concepts (improved definitions) and on the identification and exploitation of the appropriate indicators of knowledge economy.

Implications for education in developing countries: The case of Nepal

The implications for education and training in the developing countries are many and varied, ranging from the low quality of education and training, outdated curricula at the tertiary level, continuing emphasis put on a rote-learning examination system and the brain drain. In most developing countries, higher education exhibits severe deficiencies, with the expansion of the system an aggravating factor. The rapid and chaotic expansion of the colleges and universities, in particular the private sector with public sector generally underfunded, has affected in establishing quality programs. In this context, the developing countries face dual challenges. On the one hand, there is a pressing need to increase access, expansion and existing coverage (massification); on the other hand, the developing countries have the challenges to address the problems of equity, quality, and improve education content and curricula (quality assurance) amidst continuing budgetary and management constraints (governance problem).

In the context of universities in Nepal, the key difficulty is how to conceptualise the university as a site for knowledge production? The central concern is how to create the right kind of education for the knowledge economy while improving access for more (all) people? The rich countries, including the powerful European Union sets universities and R&D (Research and Development) as the highest priorities for future action (Kelo, 2006, p. 34). But the developing countries view the dominant role of the universities as teaching institutes, devoid of research functions. Higher education institutions and the universities in Nepal are merely an extension of primary and secondary schools, and are termed as 'tertiary education' deprived of the functions of research, discovery and innovation.

The difficulty in conceptualising universities as knowledge producers or manufacturers also arises mainly because Nepal, like other developing countries, is characterised as having agricultural-based economies and service economies, whose competitive advantages accrue from agriculture and mass manufacturing and not from knowledge productions through higher levels of activities such as what Reich (1991) calls 'symbolic analytical services'. Does this mean that Nepal merely requires its employees to posses a high school diploma or a vocational training? Should Nepal need research universities or the so-called 'symbolic analysts'? How is it possible for the research conducted in universities to bring about tangible economic benefits in Nepal? How should those universities conduct R&D activities in the absence of infrastructure? The proponents of the knowledge economy do not answer these questions when it comes to poorer nations whose competitive advantage is predominantly natural resource-driven instead of intangible capital-driven. Nevertheless, according to the OECD (1996, p. 21), there are three common ways of identifying a country's strengths and weaknesses in the knowledge economy. The first is the performance of a country in terms of human capital which looks at the cost of acquisition of certified knowledge, that is, the cost of formally recognised schooling and training. The second is

testing people for their skills and competencies. And the third way is estimating productivity based on 'achievement' indicators. In recent years, the OECD has published its new indicators that determine a country's strengths for the knowledge economy. They include: R&D; innovation; investment in knowledge (including in software, in training or in education); and human resources in science and technology. While it is impossible to discuss on each of these indicators, in the following section, I will focus on how increased investment in R&D will help Nepal become a full participant in the knowledge society.

Investment in R&D

This section will try to answer: how to conceptualise the university as a site for knowledge production? The central concern is how to create the right kind of education for the knowledge economy while improving access for more (all) people? In particular, how increased investment in R&D will help Nepal attain its goal of becoming a full participant in the knowledge society. Education, research and innovation are three broad functions of the university. Thus, argued from the perspective of the OECD countries, the R&D function of the university may need to be one of the priority areas for reform in the increasingly knowledge-driven age. Among those advocating this line of thought, the UNESCO figures prominently as it argues that the scientific field will doubtless be one of the main laboratories for the construction of knowledge society (UNESCO World Report, 2005, p. 99).

What is this R&D? The concept (R&D) describes the degree of national research effort and the capacity of a country to invest financial and human resource for the scientific and technological activities. R&D can be divided into basic research and applied research activities. The basic research is being carried out to get new knowledge about

underlying bases for phenomena and facts – without the aim of special application or use while the applied research is also an activity of original character being carried out to find new knowledge, but primarily pointed towards definite practical goals and applications (ibid). The R&D activities take place primarily at the universities and research centres (UNESCO World Report, 2005) although non-university institutions such as industries and firms also conduct increasing research. Thus, universities should develop a culture of collaboration and partnership with non-university institutions, such as industries and firms in conducting increasing R&D activities. The UK for instance has innovated the development of 'new industries' and is gaining a competitive advantage from its biotechnology firms. This was possible not only through increased investment in R&D but also of coming together of academia and industries through joint postgraduate research projects. The University of Leeds, for instance, developed the concept Postgraduate Training Partnership in collaboration with Cookson Group's Centre for conducting researches in biotechnology (Scott, 2000, pp. 169–189). But looking at how the policy makers conceptualize the functions of universities in Nepal, we can easily categorize them as teaching-driven, not research-driven. It is argued that in the emerging knowledge-based society, the function of research is expected to become more important than teaching because discovery and invention of new knowledge are thought to be indispensable factors related to social creativity and innovation (Arimoto, 2007, cited in Sorlin & Vessuri, 2007, p. 183).

Although Nepal is a country without minimum scientific and technological capacity, R&D is not a new concept in Nepal. It has been an isolated activity traditionally outside the scope of the university. This is because universities are considered as merely teaching institutions and the professors and scholars merely give lectures in classrooms. The role of the universities as producers of knowledge for economic competitiveness is being recognized only in recent years, albeit indirectly in Nepal (See: International Monetary Fund: Nepal

Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2003) although the meaning of the terms 'knowledge' and 'knowledge-production' are insufficiently addressed by this document.

The public investment in R&D in the developing countries is dismally low, let alone private investment, which is unheard of. Though data on Nepal are not available, The World Bank (2002, p. 9) estimated in 1996 that China, India, Brazil and the newly industrialized countries of East Asia spent 11 percent of their investment in R&D; and the rest of the world (poorer countries) 4 percent. On the contrary, the OECD countries spend 85 percent of total investment in R&D in high-technology industries (ibid). The UK, for instance, is concentrating on aerospace, multimedia and precision engineering, among others to become knowledge economy and they are concentrated in the South West of England – and are called as the British high-technology industry (Konstadakopulos, 2004, p. 24). There are striking disparities among rich and poor countries in S&T investment and capacity. Although industrial economies are relying on investment in 'software' (meaning intangibles) instead of 'hardware' (meaning natural resources), they spend up to five times more than the developing or the less developed countries in agriculture-related R&D (The World Bank, 2002, p. 9).

In most of the Third World countries, including Nepal, there are huge shortcomings of their national innovation systems due to lack of industrial output or demand for R&D by the industries. The local economy is based essentially on low technology -based firms, most of which are concerned with assembly lines of production or simply assembling and exporting products designed elsewhere, thereby, generating very little added value in innovation. The main problem associated with Nepal is that its economy is not based on knowledge and innovation. Thus, increased university research output is essential to integrate Nepal in the knowledge economy.

More doctoral degrees

This section analyses the investment in R&D in the developing countries, in terms of the number of doctorates and discusses why and how are they significant for the construction of the knowledge economy.

More doctoral degrees here refer to production of more PhD students and research personnel. The context and the need for more PhD students and research personnel stems from the fact that not all countries possess the same levels of knowledge. Knowledge economy stipulates that for the universities to support the construction of the knowledge society, knowledge transfer should take place. A particular channel of knowledge transfers is constituted by PhD students (OECD, 2004, p. 59). Knowledge transfer is one of the three main functions of the university. The other two functions are knowledge accumulation and production of new knowledge.

The UNESCO World Report (2005, p. 96) shows that in 2002 and 2003, the OECD countries on average granted one doctorate annually for every 7,000 inhabitants. In sharp contrast, the figures in the developing countries (Chile & Columbia) are 1 doctorate in 110,000 and 1 in 220,000. Though adequate data on Nepal are not available, the investment in R&D in the developing countries, in terms of the number of doctorates, is significantly low. In the Philippines, only 7 percent of professors and teachers in tertiary education sector possess PhDs.

To summarize the main points, increased investments in R&D will lead to production of more doctoral students and researchers capable of continuously engaged in new researches, discoveries, invention and other entrepreneurial activities at the universities and research laboratories. In the less developed countries like Nepal, investment in R&D of agriculture for instance may alleviate poverty and hunger. Nutritious diets keep people healthy and improve their quality of life. In many households in rural areas of Nepal, people do not have suf-

ficient food on the table. The *Household Consumption Survey of Rural Nepal* (2001/2001) showed that the average per-capita consumption in Nepal is Rs. 11,928 (Approx. US$184), which is much less than the per capita ice-cream consumption in the US. Investing in R&D in modern biotechnology for instance may contribute in producing an adequate supply of nutritious food for the growing population. This brings to the fore importance of research in modern food technology such as genetically modified crops and modern genomics, which many argue can play a critical role in increasing the yields, enhancing the nutritional value although it's environmental and health impacts are already huge concerns in many developed countries. After agriculture, tourism is another area which may benefit from R&D. The spectacular landscape and diverse, exotic cultures of Nepal represents considerable potential for tourism. Tourism is one the most vital industries of today's economy (Kuhn et al., 2006, p. 176). But growth in this hospitality industry has been stifled by lack of investment in R&D.

Nepal may also benefit from the investment in R&D of new industries. One such example of new industry is entertainment industry. They include: dance, drama, musical theatre, opera, magic, comedy, concerts, museum, children parks, and amusement parks, which offer enormous potentials for attracting not only tourists but also entertain the citizens and provide employment opportunities to unemployed youths. Investment in film industries, video games, websites and online entertainment, software making, web-page designing, may similarly help promote economic wellbeing by creating job opportunities for the unemployed youths. Opening up of such an enterprising and creative entertainment industries will need enormous investment in R&D.

Quality Assurance

A great deal of discussion about quality in higher education in Nepal for instance is related to very basic input issues such as inadequate resources, the expertise, training and number of staffs; inadequately prepared students and incompetence of managers. In many advanced countries, they are debating on what is today come to known as 'new quality assurance agenda'. Quality control, quality audit, quality assessment, quality management or sometimes total quality management (related to quality management and quality outcomes in industry) are among those new quality assurance agenda in the developed countries.

The concept 'quality assurance' was not known until the US established the National Commission on Accrediting in the late 1940s which provided recognition process for existing accrediting bodies. In the UK, formal quality assurance systems got established in universities from 1984 to 1986 However, the quality and quality assurance have become key issues in higher education only in the 1990s. Hong Kong, for instance, introduced a performance based funding model in 1994. Teaching and learning quality process reviews were conducted between September 1995 and April 1997 of the seven tertiary education institutions which found the satisfactory performances by these institutions. In Europe, evaluating quality in higher education was initiated by the EU in 1994. In 1997, European Network of Quality Assurance (ENQA) was established. The Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC) began developing quality assessment methods for the UK universities in 1992. The HEQC was later converted into a new name called Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) in 1998. Around the same time, Australia set up the Committee for Quality Assurance in Higher Education. The main aims of QAA were four in all: one, to assess the extent to which institutions are monitoring and managing the quality of teaching and learning; two, enhance quality assurance system of each

institutions; three, to identify areas of strengths and weakness and finally, to enhance the quality of higher education in the country.

In the international field, there are currently two quality assurance agencies – ISO 9000 and Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE). Founded in 1947, ISO is a federation of 120 nations. Gate was founded in 1995 in the US. GATE has for instance outlined a set of principles for quality assurance of degree programs that consist of eight points: one of them include: participants who enrol should understand goals and objectives of such a degree program; providers must ensure standards that courses are compatible and meet educational quality; equitable and ethical treatment to all participants are observed in student selection; that there are sufficient and qualified persons to provide courses and programs; adequate physical and financial resources are available and the courses and programs are regularly evaluated.

The need for quality assurance body arises here as the global businesses and professional marketplace seek personal with wide ranging education and training background from nationally as well as globally accredited institutions. Human resource departments are looking for ways to evaluate courses and degrees not only from within their own countries but also from around the world. They are evaluating whether students' qualifications have maximum applicability and comparability. To do this, the employers would want to see whether the potential employees or their recruits hold degree or qualification recognized by national or internationally accredited agencies.

The need for internationally recognized quality assurance agencies also arises from the increasing commercialization of education in many developing countries. With many countries joining the WTO including the GATS, a stage has been finally set up for the invasion of the education sector by commercial providers. The entry into the WTO and GATS will leave higher education in the developing countries further vulnerable to competition among private providers, inviting commercialization. Education is one of the twelve service

sectors covered by GATS, the purpose of which is to remove trade barriers and promote free trade including in the educational services. The trading system driven by competitiveness and profits also tend to have negative consequences on the poor and marginalized population in terms of access to higher education. This is because globalization has resulted in higher education being regarded as a commercial product, governed by market forces. It sees education as a business that must meet new requirements of efficiency and profitability and must respond to customers.

The impact of globalization in the developing countries, one of which is seen in the form of increasing student mobility, and the emergence of a world market for post-secondary education for international students also necessitates quality assurance. Increasing globalization and student and labour mobility would require co-opera-tion and partnerships between quality assurance and accreditation bodies around the world. Globalization and student mobility mean that academic and professional qualifications possessed by individu-als also become portable across national frontiers and that education becomes tradable commodity. A stage for such a trade in higher education has already been set in Nepal when it joined the WTO and GATS, which has allowed foreign institutions to gain a foothold in the educational markets. The Uruguay round of negotiations included for the first time, the issue of trade in services, including education. This implies that universities and other higher education institutions in Nepal may have to improve their quality to remain competitive in the global market for education. Thus, achieving quality and standards of higher education becomes central to competitiveness in the global knowledge economy.

Quality and standards are often intertwinely used in literatures. Standards may provide a benchmark for training providers, industries, training bodies, and government authorities both at the centre and federal levels. There are also debates concerning what constitute the criteria for quality and what should they focus at. There are those who

argue that all should focus on clients for the success of the university or higher education institution. Quality of a higher education institution also depends on whether it is client-focused or not.

The approaches to quality also differ contextually. The main issues in the quality debate about higher education in many countries are the maintenance and improvement of levels of teaching, learning, research and scholarship; improvements in the quality and adaptability of graduates; how to measure and define quality … More generally, quality is related to a body of knowledge about products, services and customers and client satisfaction (Liston, 1999, p. 11). Quality assurance refers to a systematic management procedure and processes adopted to ensure achievement of a given quality, or continued improvement in quality and so to enable key stakeholders to have confidence about the management of quality control and about the standards of output achieved.

To sum up, the need for quality assurance system in Nepal are many. Most importantly, such a need stems from the massification of higher education institutions and the haphazard growth of private colleges and universities which tend to lower the quality, prestige and morale of education. Thus, to check such commercialization and unbridled growth of private education institutions, quality assurance mechanisms should be put in place. The growing student and labour mobility, the emergence of WTO and GATS are other reasons for developing a quality assurance mechanism.

Conclusion

We have seen that the shift from the manufacturing to knowledge-based economy has many implications on the universities and higher education institutions around the world. One implication that we have seen in our discussion throughout this paper is that the very

notion of education is changing from the old post-Keynesian era to the modern new human capital, which demands for investment in higher and continuing education to meet the challenges of the knowledge economy.

We have also seen that the knowledge economy exerts tremendous pressure on the traditional universities to reform, adapt, and change, most importantly from the current teaching universities to research, and become innovative and productive as well as collaborate closely with international institutions, industries and labour markets to remodel and renew curriculum.

The proponents of the knowledge economy and the human capital theory of education seem to overemphasize on high skilled economy and high-tech world. Such an understanding of the knowledge economy is not enough to understand the complex social world. In today's lifelong learning framework, higher education provides an individual not only high level skills necessary for functioning in an increasingly uncertain future but also training essentials for teachers, doctors, scientists, entrepreneurs and researchers that are desperately needed for the socio-economic transformation of the countries in transition such as Nepal. It is these individuals who develop the capacity and analytical skills that drive the local economy, effective government and make decisions that affect their society. On the supply side, a weak tertiary education system is also likely to hamper the basic education in developing and transitional economies as it affects the supply of qualified teachers and school leaders, capacity for curriculum design, research, teaching and learning, as well as economic analysis and management. On the demand side, the pressure associated with massification pose challenges for the development and delivery of academic programs and the governance of university. Pressures particularly mount on the universities to perform well and maintain quality and standards. No less crucial are the issues of privatization and commercialization of education in less developed countries amidst the rising tide of globally articulated knowledge economy which poses

new regulatory challenges to the government with regard to quality, access and equity.

While the pressure for massification and the role of private providers increase, there is a need for academic freedom for the scholars to pursue scholarly activities and the production of knowledge without undue interference and prejudice as the role of university changes from being merely a teaching institute to research universities. The policy emphasis should shift away from quantitative expansion to qualitative education, from centralized elite institutions to autonomous mass institutions, and academic freedom to faculties and social responsibility essential for Nepal to adapt and integrate into the knowledge society.

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Identity of a Chinese software engineer in global software outsourcing industry

Yan Yang

Abstract – Theoretically, identity has always been discussed from polar sides of the discourse of self and identity, which easily falls into idealism or neglects the subjectivities of human beings. In this paper my aim is firstly to contribute to the theoretical construction of a new psycho-societal perspective for research of identity. Empirically, in advanced modernization or globalization, identity issue has been the focus not only for academic researchers but also for people in general, especially concerning the cross-culture context. This paper then is based on an empirical case of a Chinese software engineer in a global software outsourcing industry context. By describing and interpreting the negotiable inner identification process of an Chinese outsourcing software engineer and by analyzing the specific pattern of global software production as well as the labor division behind it in software outsourcing business as a general societal structure for further discussion about the interpretations of the psycho process, identity evolvement within the complex interactions of different agencies through individuals' subjectivity are eventually revealed.

Keywords: identity, globalization, outsourcing, software engineer, psycho-societal

Globalization and Software Production

In the ongoing processes of knowledge triggering off and globalization of economic as well as cultural development, information technology (IT) has gained a lot of concern for its crucial function in bridging the world corners together closer than ever before and it is growing into an unique dynamic which influences the societal as well as individual developments.

The process of "globalization" has been identified since the 1990s as a pattern of events facilitated by technological changes and economic shifts (Casey, 1995, p. 47). Castell expatiates on this pattern more precisely by digging deeper into the interrelationship of globalization, networking and information. He defines "network society" as the carrier of globalization whilst the IT facilitates the complex functions of networking by making the networks be able to coordinate decision-making and decentralize execution of shared tasks at the same time (Castell, 2000). "Software" can be understood as a reactor as well as container of information and its capability of processing information is integrated with the advances in microelectronic and telecommunication technologies. On one hand, software takes the function of managing and processing information as well as knowledge of the trades it serves in; on the other hand, software as an independently technology featured "device" has its own category of knowledge and developing methodologies.

With the gradual penetration of IT into every corner of our daily lives, the needs for software are expanding and becoming variable. To improve the productivity of software development, the concept of standardization is more frequently proposed and emphasized in software businesses, the idea of which descends historically from Adam Smith's notion of "labor division" and Fredrick Taylor's productivity measurements of different sub-tasks based on predefined standards of mechanical specialization[1] (Freidson, 2001, p. 22) in the indus-

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1. It is defined as "detailed division of labor" to characterize the work performed by workers in factories, which is simple and repetitive.

trialized production. The standardization of software production is based on the theoretical model of software engineering which is to decompose the software development process into some interrelated but comparatively independent procedures and to objectify every procedure by instituting specific models and standards.

Furthermore, when software becomes more crucial for facilitating globalization, and labor division in software development is gradually specialized, software production itself is turning out to be a globally scaled activity as the consequence of standardization, industrialization and globalization. By applying standardization to separate the procedures of the whole software production and taking the technological advantage of IT to easily break through the limitation of space and time in production, the enterprisers of software business get to inherit and advance the way how conventional industrialists did-to get highest profit by exploiting the human labor cost and time-zone differences in a globally wide labor market.

"Software outsourcing" is a relatively new term as well as business type that reflects this globalized and industrialized pattern in software production and the labor division behind it with various players such as America, EU, Japan, China, India taking different roles. The basic form of software outsourcing is namely project (or production) outsourcing, which is to transfer part or the whole of own software production task to some external software developing human resource suppliers. Software outsourcing could be divided into "onsite" and "offsite" by the discrimination between outsourcing human resource and outsourcing software projects. Onsite software outsourcing implies that the human resource suppliers send their software engineers into the client organization to work with the local team, while offsite software outsourcing implies that the human resource suppliers take the software project from the client organization into their own company to make comparatively independent developing work. In parallel, software outsourcing could also be generally divided into "offshoring" and "inshoring" by the national difference between the

client organization and supplier. Offshoring outsource implies that the client organization and supplier are in different countries while the inshoring acts the opposite way.

Being in a liberal market, the status quo of software trade nowadays seems not being manipulated by any external organization or authorities but by negotiations and co-actions among all the rational and free participants (individual or collective) inside. The development and application of software technology as well as the formulation of software production chain are supposed to have their own internal agencies to define the trade standards. The liberal market doesn't necessarily mean equality or fairness but absolutely implies dynamics anyway. With the process going on, the agencies and agents inside show their self-evolvements and the pattern is always in the way of changing. E.g. India and China now are going up along the production chain with their fast improvement on IT technology development by their strategies of encouraging the export of software developing services to America or Japanese software markets. And Bill Gates as a individual case started his development of BASIC(first computer language) with support from MITS[2] but achieved Microsoft by accusing MITS at last. So every participant (individual or collective) in this software trade seems to have the possibility to change the rules of the game and get big benefit by proper act.

Global Software Outsourcing industry and Software Engineers in China

Global software market as a business environment provides many countries, organizations and individuals with a stage for social activities. "Software outsourcing" nowadays represents a specific structure of

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2. Micro Instrumentation and Telemetry Systems (MITS) was an American electronics company founded in Albuquerque, New Mexico that began manufacturing electronic calculators in 1971 and personal computers in 1975.

labor division with all the entities subjectively engaged in this environment. Since the emergence of software outsourcing business, China has been taking active participation in it. Through China's engagement, the global software production chain introduces new dynamics into its interaction with China's societal and individual development.

Chinese government prescribed a clear destination for Chinese software trade to become the biggest offshoring labor services outsourcing supplier around the time when China got its accession into WTO in 2001. And later on Chinese government set up a series of polices and official notes to encourage the development into this direction. E.g., in June 2000, the State Council issued a series of preferential policies on investment and finance, tax, industrial technology, export, income distribution, talent attracting and cultivation to promote the establishment of market-oriental software industry system, the exports of software and the expansion of domestic software market. Meanwhile, the State Council also updated the goal for the national software industry as to catching up the international advanced level of software R&D and production in 2010. Since then, with the support from the State Council, eleven district bases of software outsourcing export have been set up all over the country in order to attract domestic and foreign investment and to foster the advantage of scale. And these kinds of policies kept coming out even more frequently from different bureaucracies and institutions in the years after.

Besides the favorable polices for commerce, corresponding policies for encouraging software practitioners are also accompanying. As a starting point, in November 2003, the Ministry of Education promulgated the "Approval of establishing the pilot model of vocational and technical colleges of software in high education schools", which approved 35 colleges, such as the Beijing Institute of Vocational and Technical Information, to set up the first group of pilot demonstrative vocational and technical education in software in order to meet the urgent and fast growing needs of vocational skills for software production with the development of national software industry.

With the double tracks of facilitation, perceivable changes such as commercial performance and specialized education of software engineers are being well realized on a pragmatic level. According to some commercial investigation into Chinese software outsourcing industry between 2001 and 2006 (CEI, 2008), the compound growth rate of software industry is 43.2%. In the expectation before the end of 2007, China's software industry in the world software market share would reach 10% and exports would reach 1 billion U.S. dollars. Besides the economic growth, the proportion of the market structure is changing too. Europe, United States, Indian are enhancing their influence on the Chinese market. Taking Microsoft as an example, on its business plan, the outsourcing orders to Chinese partners will exceed 400 million U.S. dollars; and on its organization plan, Microsoft will promote the cooperation with China's software outsourcing enterprises through taking more joint orders and enhancing its scale and degree of cooperation to the upper nodes of production chains.

And the expansion also happens to the amount of software practitioners. According to the non-officinal statics there are about 20,000 software enterprises identified in China. The amount of software practitioners was about 2 million till the end of year 2006 (China Internet Lab, 2006). Before the big expansion, all the technique-related practitioners in software trade were generally called "software engineers" but now this concept is more precisely defined as a functional entity. For example in Wikipedia.com (2009) "software engineer" is defined as a person who applies the principles of software engineering to the design, development, testing, and evaluation of software and systems that make computers or anything with software such as chips work. Meanwhile subtitles as "developing engineer", "testing engineer", "outsourcing engineer" and etc are named to imply different specification according to their functions or positions in the whole labor division. With this chief functional definition and state's international target given above, Beijing Software Guild set up a competence model of software engineers: "good programming capability; self-consciousness about norm and team

spirit; understand and be able to use database; relatively good English reading and writing skills; concept of software engineering; thirst for knowledge and enterprise (Zhang, 2002)".

Both the favorable policies of software commerce and the facilitating policies of software practitioner education declare explicitly the state's aim of developing international as well as domestic software market. Furthermore, both the increasing statistics of economic growth and the specializing definitions of software engineers' function give a good impression of a healthy, rational developing trend and a flourish phenomenon of China's participation in this global software outsourcing production industry. However, what still missing here is how the subjects inside this process contribute to the construction of this dynamic structure and how they learn or identify themselves, which as I think is the final and most important issue for any economic development or human societal development, which, then of course, is also very crucial for the continuous development of software industry. As Castel analyzed:

> *"Social action in our time largely depends on the construction of identity. It lies in the crises of political institutions such as the nation state, and of the institutions of civil society largely linked to the national states such as political parties, labor unions, and professional associations – the whole world of corporatism."* (Castell, 2004)

So in this inquiry I choose the majority of this group of participants, software engineers, as the key informants. I will describe and interpret the negotiable identification process of an outsourcing software engineer in the context of this dynamic global software outsourcing industry. By seeing into this individual case, what could be reflected is the complex interaction of different agencies while having individual acting as subjective actor in the front of stage. And the whole data collection is based on individual software engineers' narration on their

career life stories and the data interpretation on these narrations is with the aid of hermeneutics, both starting from the framework of life history approach. In the next part, I will firstly make the way to my approach of analyzing identity as well as learning by introducing the discourse on self, identity and soci(et)al structure.

Identity, Self and Social Structure

As Casey (1995) showed, the discourse of self, identity and social structure has long history since early decades of the twentieth century and keeps evolving the themes between self and social structures. And identity as an inter-term also changes its connotation and here is employed by me to avoid the dichotomy in epistemological construction and to establish an over perspective. I will start by giving a general sketch of the discourse as groundwork for my approach applied.

In Freud's classical psychoanalytic theory, self is shaped through the process of identification, which is the internalization of parental authority and the achievement of autonomy while dealing with instinctual drives and anxieties from obstructed anxieties. However, various "neo-psychoanalytical" theorists argue that Freud exaggerated the instincts and early childhood experience for the development of self and protest the social factors for the self-development.

On another track, in behavioral and cognitive psychology which descends from theories by Skinner, Watson and Piaget, the self is viewed as a set of cognitive mechanism and structures that are fixed, irreducible integrated with organic developments as the basis of all human being. Piaget elaborated a stratified process of human development by defining stages which cannot be skipped. Skinner then claimed that "it is the environment which acts upon the perceiving person, not the perceiving person who acts on environment" which was criticized for regarding organic factors subsidiary to the

primary impact of the external stimulus (Harre & Secord, 1972, p. 27). With the tradition of cognitive psychology the later modern empirical psychologists attempt to advance the theories by accounting for the driving force(such as social relations, innate interests) of self development to overcome the passive assumption of human as totally subjugated object to environment or organism.

Represented by Cooley, Mead and Blumer, symbolic interactionism of Chicago school emphasized the social construction of meaning and self. They stressed the importance of cultural as well as social specificity of norms and morality and the importance of subjective interpretations of social meanings (Casey, 1995, p. 56). For Cooley and Mead the self arose from social interaction, while Cooley stressed that only through subjective feeling that the self could be identified and Mead argued there were as many selves as social roles there were. Erving Goffman put his interest in the importance of performance in social interaction, and to him the self was a process rather than a system of mechanisms and needs. But comparing to some poststructuralists as well as critical theorists who also define self as a process, Goffman's perception of self is momentary, amorphous and instantaneous which ignores the historical factors over time; but they both share the understanding that there is no central reality or "self" dominating or being presented to the others. However the symbolic interactionism ignored the wider social context of immediate interindividual or group interactions (Casey, 1995, p. 58) and excluded the historical awareness in understanding the self, which brought itself into an ideological role.

With both the traditions from and critiques on these previous psychoanalytical-, empirical- and sociological- social psychological thoughts, a group of critical social psychologists launched by Philip Wexler whose thought also got strong influence from Frankfurt School, started to argue that conventional social psychology of self did recognize the influence of social interactions with the family and immediate social group on the formation of self but failed to analyze the self-society

relation as an aspect of broader social relations(Casey, 1995, p. 64). To make it more precisely, it neglected the relations of production and their impacts on self or identity. As Wexler argued, it had ignored the "social-historical formation of capitalism" as central to the definition and constitution of social psychological process (Casey, 1995, p. 65). So the critical social psychology has strong concerns about how the dynamics of capitalism and industrialization influence the forming of self as well as identity. Therefore, the critical social psychology might also be reduced as societal social psychology for emphasizing on its different concern from the previous schools. For Durkheim (1993), the modern person was produced by the process of industrialization and the transformed social order that result. So the critical social psychological evolved the discourse into viewing the self as historically as well as soci(et)ally structured.

From this review, the different concerns on social factors themselves have already reflected the historical attribute of development of "self" concept. But if the discussion goes down in this dichotomy style, it gives no help on empirical level. The explaining about how objective societal order emerges from subjective action, and how social structure is transformed into subjective action and disposition seem still missing (Kaspersen, 1998, cited in Olesen, 2002a). Nevertheless, as Danish social psychologist and educationist Henning Salling Olesen argues, Habermas and Bourdieu actually had achieved some process each along this way (Olesen, 2002a).

Habermas (Dobert, Habermas & Nunner-Winkler, 1987) defined the concept of identity as a sociological equivalent of the concept of self, who was influenced by symbolic interactionists' understanding of identity as a symbol that an individual must claim for himself or herself in relation to others. The reflexive relationship of the individual that is self-identified depends on the inter-subjective relationships that (s)he has with those others by whom she is identified (ibid., p. 226). "There is thus a structural relationship between the forms of identity

of individuals and the forms of social integration in the life context in which they interact with each other (Casey, 1995, p. 58)".

Following this point, Olesen re-introduced the concept of subjectivity and defined the identity as "*a field for an ongoing production of subjectivity*" (Olesen, 2000b, p. 20). "*Subjectivity is the way of relating to the world which is characterized by intention, agency and engaging interaction with something outside oneself* (Olesen, 2007, p.5)." Combing with Marx's proposition of human essence as ensemble of social relations (Marx, 1888/1983, p. 145), subjectivity can be understood as the embodiment of these relations on subjects and the way they apply to establish relations. According to the discourse discussed above, since these relations are historically and soci(et)ally structured, subjectivity then is not just an individual attribute but a product of histories, both individual and collective ones.

The producing of subjectivity is through the process of experience which is *"consciousness building through subjective processing of perceptions and impressions from the world"* (Olesen, 2007, p.5) while this consciousness building is based on practical activities by integrating the current agency with continuous interpretation of historical experience. The notion of experience can be unfolded into three levels: learning, life experience and knowledge (Olesen, 2000). Learning can be understood as the ongoing experiencing with consciousness of this experiencing process in everyday practice; life experience is the past but accumulated consciousness which has impact on the current forming of experience; and knowledge is the objectification of collective consciousness reified by societal institutions and social rules and confirmed by individual experiences. The historical quality of experience assures the possibility of subject's development and the availability of objective environment for this development. And one more important issue I need to emphasize here is the unconscious aspect under the "consciousness building" process, which has been forgotten by many social culturists or sociological-social psychologist. However, the unconsciousness severs as a crucial dynamics for learning and it exists in experience and

interacts with consciousness through "*subjective processing of perceptions and impressions from the world* (Olesen, 2007, p.5)*"*. So looking into the unconscious conflicts by interpreting individual inner process and analyzing these conflicts in the societal context would be my perspective to study identity and learning.

Conclusively, identity here is the recognition and objectification of subjectivities which are embodiment of relations produced through social and historical experience. And I am going to employ this concept as a thread to link up the whole epistemological discourse behind to analysis the Chinese outsourcing software engineer case below. In-depth hermeneutics will be used to help with the interpretation as methodology. Following critical theorist's assumption, reality is conceived as full of conflicts and repressions, which cause the contradictions and ambivalences in identity and subjectivity. By noticing the distortion of language using in subject's narration we can observe the contradictions and ambivalences and by interpreting them with attempt to look for some underlying or repressed possible actions of the subject (Olesen, 2000, p.15) we then grasp the learning happening there.

Case study of John: Experiencing and subjective learning as an outsourcing software engineer

(See note[1] on relevant norms of quoted transcriptions)

John is 31years old man with 6-7years working experiences in software, who now is working in a famous American funded but international computer company FX-China branch as an outsourcing software engineer, with his contract assigned with a human resource service vendor HH. In this section I am going to present John's different experience of being an outsourcing software engineer in this global software industry and interpret the contradiction and ambivalence in his narration of these experiences.

C/S vs B/S

The first outsourcing job John had was in a domestic software company BX which was subordinated to a state owned but independently self-managing steel group BB. His task was to develop a set of management software for iron and steel business with .net framework. After almost three years' working he became very qualified with that job, but then he quit because he thought the technology or knowledge "C/S[3] framework" BX was using was quite out of date.

> "Because inside BB (it) may keep on using this set of things, then (it) is out of joint if it goes out. Including some colleagues who 'hopped' out they say BB has been dropped behind for many, many years, at least 10 years. That is C/S framework, B/S framework, you know about this, don't you? Yes generally B/S framework is popular in software. At that BB side, it's C/S framework. At that time I tried to leave, change a place, do those public, popular, for my future scale for choice (can be) a little wider. But as this kind of experience, I was lack of, (it was) rather difficulty."

And the incident which eventually made him leave, as he told, was a conversation about new "B/S framework" between him and his former colleague.

> "The inducement was there was a colleague who worked in ASP. He was using B/S framework, also hopped out, spoke many things to me. I thought this seemed totally different from (what) I was
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> doing. Because after about two years since I worked, worked there, this time (I) already had some confidence because (I) had began to supervise apprentice. I felt already, at their side already, (I) could be accounted as the top...top. Then, then what I knew, then, then

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3. C/S, client/server; B/S, browser/server; .net framework, a technique platform for software development.

went there, when other people talk with me there, how could it be like that (I) totally didn't understand what he was talking about. Afterward I read some book and etc, that is, ze~/* some short voice for sighing*/ seriously out of joint with outside. "

One interpretation of this data is there was some initial anxiety aroused by the challenge from the new B/S technology to his existing knowledge structure. To relieve the anxiety John deduced this challenge into a conflict between institutional knowledge structure and B/S technology. He behaved both as passive agency and active agency in learning to solve the conflict. He could have studied this new technology and tried to apply this knowledge in work practice to help with changing the institutional knowledge structure but he chose to leave that company to avoid the conflict, which made him a passive agency inside. On the other hand, he actively tried to find another compatible opportunity for studying new knowledge, which made him as an active learner. In this learning process what reflected is the competency-oriented or self-oriented rather than responsibility-oriented or organization-oriented dispositions in John's subjectivity, which can be defined as the quality of the identity as a wage labor instead of as a professional. This interpretation could also be verified in another piece of his narration about his job in FX.

"Another problem is system update. They may start over. This will be a big project. Or they may be going to use SAP. Then this project will be called off. This is what we face with. That's their call because we don't ||."

Another interpretation for this is that the difference between C/S and B/S here touched off John's identity crisis as a senior software engineer. Since John had worked in BX for two and half years, he had confidence in his specialty knowledge of software techniques and operations logistics of steel business and his competence. And the evidence was

the emotion of pride in his words about that he had begun to supervise his own apprentice. So he identified his specialty skills as top there. But "can't understand" what the ex-colleagues was talking made him feel frustrated on his identity with his specialty skills. To keep the identity balanced again, he needed to break though the status he was in, which as he conceived was the relation he had with BX.

Testing vs Coding

Till now, in John's career history he has experienced twice in making choice between an outsourcing testing job in Microsoft and a coding job (different for each one). At the first time, the coding job was offered by a small company AO of less than 15 employees and the outsourcing testing job to Microsoft was provided by the vendor Beijing HH.

> "At that time it, it was, it was outsourcing too, to Microsoft, at Minghang[4], the headquarters of Microsoft in China, to work at Microsoft. But it is (for) testing engineers, not for coding. The Microsoft didn't believe in so much, didn't believe so much that the Chinese outsourcing serving stuffs could do very well. It gave you some testing, some codes for automatic testing. I did some comparisons afterwards. One aspect concerned was that it[5] was introduced by my colleague; another aspect was that I like things of coding more, and the salary was not much different, maybe
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> the salary of HH was a little better. I thought afterward, doubted a little, and went to AO."

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4.   Minghang is some place in the suburb of Shanghai.
5.   Here it is the coding job in AO.

And the second time was after he resigned from AO. He got three offers which included the testing job in Microsoft again and coding job in FX that he is having now, both as outsourcing ones.

> "Among those three, em/* some short voice for idling*/, one of them was sent to Microsoft to do test, do test. They had a comparatively munificent term was that an immediate visa for staying in America for two month. If you signed, immediately, the tryout period would be spent in America, training in America. Then this was the attractive thing they had. But the place was quite far away, at Minghang. First of all, I got rid of the consideration of this, because it was to do test. I had denied once before."

The perspective of interpretation here should be started from his identification with coding job instead of his de-identification with testing job. The coding job here can be interpreted as providing more sense of controlling for John, which is linked to male social role of conquering and part of the image of standard engineering work – construction based on specialized knowledge. It reveals the disposition of authority or power orientation rather than immediate material benefit orientation in his subjectivity. And the power to him depended on how much knowledge he got.

Another relevant quotation and further interpretation of it is through his statement,

> "I used to want to be a software engineer, including system architect, etc, something like project manager. But now with time passing I just want to be a good programmer, that is to say the code written should be useful".

The emotion of frustration is apparent as I see. He persuaded himself that programmer was an important and useful job, but meanwhile as software engineer he was de-identifying this job unconsciously because

programmer as an implement part of whole software engineering was mostly behaving a service job which he was actually de-identifying with. In another part of the story quoted below, that he conceived himself as not getting used to sociality, could reflect his strong male identity. Sociality in job as listening, obeying and taking care of others need should be service qualities for women which should not be the part of male role as well as engineer role which had hidden male character.

> "I am always afraid, namely, have been afraid since graduation, been afraid of jobs to contact with people. For me, the status I am rather satisfied with is facing to a computer all the day, doing some programming, doing some coding, and online meeting by phone once a week to make some communication, which doesn't need any communication face to face, just by emails. Em…then I got quite some feeling of achievement. The things generated from the project, I will feel not bad if their side accept that."

But instead of understanding the quality of sociality as a negative part of being a programmer serving for the whole engineering project, he projected it to the character of those controlling positions which eventually made him don't want to be. So here his explaining on his character of avoiding sociality can be interpreted as a defense mechanism to relieve the repression of being controlled and the depression of not being able to get controlling role.

Regular vs Contract

As an outsourcing engineer in FX, John felt quite satisfied with the general situation such as working contents, pattern of the working flow but not with his identity as a contracted employee.

"I can be accounted as the stuff of FX now. They have two kinds of stuffs, one kind is regular stuff, which means regular stuff; another kind is CWF, which means contract, maybe, means contract stuff. I am now CWF. The CWF of FX, actually what I am doing has no difference, namely everybody work together, (the) only (difference) is that the contract stuff can be reduced at anytime."

The anxiety is explicitly caused by being afraid of unemployment, but it is also related to his sense of belonging as well as controlling. He was doing the same job as the regulars were doing while he didn't share the same rights such as welfare and common concerns. The different situations they having made him feel detached from the same social relation with main community and generate inferiority when he was in comparatively the worse one. And the contrast between regular and contract also showed relation of controlling and being controlled. Therefore contradiction of being controlled as a contracted employee with trying to control as an engineer might also raised his anxiety. This point then can be used to explain why he felt ambivalent when he chose between this job as an outsourcing programmer in FX and another one which was to work as a regular employ in a human resource vendor company AD i.e. the company takes offsite outsourcing job to their company and the outsourcing engineers work in their host company instead of going to guest company.

"Another was, another was, what I am doing now is some kind of outsourcing, another was to be, namely, formal stuff. Their company actually was quite sincere. I didn't deliver my resume to them actually. But they called me once to tell me to have interview. I didn't go because I went to another one. They asked why I didn't go. I said I went to another interview. They said then changed a time. I felt that actually, actually if I was not accepted by FX I would go to that company."

> "Maybe, perhaps- at last (I) didn't' accept, refused the offer from DT that I felt quite pity. Their boss called me by himself afterwards, then I felt quite pity."

However when John worked in FX as an outsourcing engineer, he also had regular contract with a human resource vendor, but he didn't identify with that. The consciousness about this identity turned out to be active only within the mutual social space with equal rights and common targets like what the later offsite outsourcing company AD could provide.

The strategies John took to resolve the anxiety were flexible as well as negotiable. He planned to get more job opportunities as an outsourcing software engineer by improving his English skill and meanwhile he also had the willing to turn into regular employee.

> "(When/If)I have some improvement with my abilities, or to say English level, the whole level improves, then it's rather easy to find a outsourcing company, no matter doing on site, or offsite. Then be a small leader, lead 5, 6 people, this kind of leader is a rather proper direction for development. Then there is possibility to improve to be a manager or even higher position. Then the 'onsite' like us, you turn to that custom, to be a regular employer. Nothing else could be, no possibility for promotion, only this way out."

Here the ambivalence of self-oriented and organization-oriented dispositions seemed to come out again, and he tried to overcome this by taking a competency-oriented position.

More experience vs. more workload

The pattern of the working flow between FX- American team and FX- China team was that the former did user analysis, designed the main framework of the software, wrote down the transcripts and sent to latter side. The later side took the coding, premier testing job and resent them back to former side to let them finish systematical integrating and testing job and submit the product to customer. And with FX's gradually concerning on China market, FX's senior executors tried to move the former function to latter side. This however would cause more workload to John's team as John thought. And his comment on this change was:

> "That is if I don't need to have extra shift, just take more use of the working hours, this kind of change, this kind of- If I could participate in the design including analysis it would do good to me because after all I have no idea how long I am gonna to work in FX. Then with these aspects of experience on design, on analysis there would be bigger scale of choices entering into other companies. I can do developing and also can do things on design."

This conflict of "more experience and more workload" can easily be perceived as approach-avoidance of "learn more but do less" in John's agency. His emphasis of "don't need to have extra shift" in the first place can be interpreted as his applying time discipline to regulate the workload, which relates to the feature of wage labor's way of value counting and his identification with that. At the same time learning more experience is motivated by his concerning about employment safety as an outsourcing employee being required to have extensive experience to meet with the protean requirements from customers' type and their needs. So the identification with regulation of wage labor and the identification with varieties as the necessary quality of outsourcing conflicted in John's subjectivity, which is reflected in his identity.

Identity of a Chinese outsourcing software engineer in the dynamics of global software industry

Restating the theoretical discussion above that identity is a historically and socially constituted product, I further emphasize that the empirical identity of any entity is not only individual owned but also mutual understandings nevertheless is built and revealed only through every individual's daily experience. In last part I aimed to reveal the inner psycho process of these individual experiences by interpreting the conflicts on both conscious and unconscious level. And in the following part I will combine these interpretations with relevant analysis of the global outsourcing industry to discuss the identity.

Reminding you of the general introduction about outsourcing industry in the beginning of this paper, I will continue to stress a very important sense globalization has from internationalism is that globalization respects the role of local nation-state, which ideates the world into a united organism of difference instead of assimilated oneness, which exposes every entity into a wider and more complex social structure with cross culture. So the analysis of global software will be unfolded into three aspects: disciplinary model of software project and the labor division as well as value distribution behind, structure of global software market and Chinese domestic software market. And software outsourcing industry is a representative structure for connecting these three aspects and for discussion about identity. Combining the analysis of the macro societal context, the further discussion on identity from the former interpretation on individuals' inner process will be deepened in a psycho-societal perspective.

Empirically, through John's learning experience of being a outsourcing software engineer, what can be seen are software discipline, international software company, Chinese domestic software company, John as a individual labor and their changes in a globalization trend, and how John's subjectivity changed within these change. And through

these a Chinese software engineer's identity is gradually built and emerges in our constructive understanding.

Disciplinary model of software project, its application in labor division and analysis of the value distribution

In the industrializing process of software production, many models have been created to help with standardizing the software work and making it suitable for mass production. The CMM[6] reduces a representative software project into three main steps: designing, coding (programming) and testing. Designing is the most innovative part of the whole process which includes analyzing user needs and describing them into corresponding functions in software; analyzing and evaluating available software scientific technology for realizing the functions; analyzing technique compatibility between old software products and the one coming in predesign; analyzing the future strategy of continuous marketing development; to some leading company even concerning some new technologies development for the whole industry, and finally giving a holistic transcript of the new software. Coding is to use corresponding software languages to realize the functions according to the transcript and to make some modification according to some empirical technique requirements for optimizing. Testing then is to run the codes written by coders to see whether the linkages among functions work well and feedback the bugs they find to the coders. And developing job is a blurry concept that includes the designing and coding because these two steps can't be totally separated in empirical work and most of the time they cross into each other. Correspondingly the labor division of software engineers group can be concluded into three main categories: designer, coder(or programmers) and tester, while developer can represent both

6.　CMM(Capability Maturity Model) is set by Institute of Software Engineering in American Carnegie - Mellon University.

designer and coder. But the functions of these positions alter to some extent in the empirical positions or in other words, the theoretical standardization is not strictly being implemented in practice. In many small Chinese software companies the same group people act both as designers and coders. And the requirements on testing job are also different. Some testers only need to check function running by manual work while some testers need to write cases for automatic testing, which means the latter need special knowledge like programming language, protocols as well.

Anyway this model has been emphasized in many certification training and school education as some mutual understanding about software work, which is also being used as some basic principle for project management in companies and as standard for individuals to identify their position in this functional chain.

However, software as knowledge based commodity has a big attribute different from those of traditional industrial products and manufactures, which influences the value distribution among labor divisions behind. That is innovation and custom specialized production instead of unification and mass production. With the aid of IT itself, the rhythm between the knowledge innovation and application is accelerating. Also because of the facilitation of internet technologies, customers' needs get farthest fulfilled, which causes more variety. The crucial factor for successful marketing nowadays is how much innovation you have and how fast you produce them. So the value of a knowledge-based product is evaluated by how innovative and how much degree custom is fulfilled. Thereby the labors who work in node of innovation and fulfilling custom have the decisive authorities and get the highest reward correspondingly. Combining the consideration of disciplinary labor division model above, it is the designers who are taking part of this crucial part. Furthermore, the method for evaluation on labor is also partly different from Marx's value theory of labor division which applying time parameter because innovation is not decided by time and custom satisfaction is a comparatively subjective

variable. But for the coders and tester their works are still almost evaluated by working efficiency. By discriminating this difference, we may notice that "coders" and "testers" have more like wage labor attribute while "designers" act more as professional labor if we interpret professional as more responsible for knowledge innovation and more connection to customs.

In John's case, from the interpretation of his dispositions towards applying time discipline, using instead of creating knowledge, accustoming instead of changing, we see that John recognized and identified with this functional stratification as well as the corresponding value distribution behind it. He tried to be in some upper position before, but now he showed stronger identification with wage labor as a "coder" engineer which was not spontaneously but gradually formed within the macro environment of this global industry and China's changing agency and historically evolving status inside, about which I am going to explain below.

Global software market and Outsourcing industry

Combing with the model and the general introduction about out-sourcing industry at the beginning above, conclusively there are several main types of software business in the global software market: the first one is called 'product type' which represents those companies who produce public software products like Windows XP, Norton AntiVirus and etc. This kind of software needs to meet the general needs of some specific mass group and get the profit by increasing marketing amount. The second one is "project or custom type" which develops specific software for some specific customers. The whole project gets fund from the specific custom, and all the works, such as needs analysis, framework design, system compatibility, are circumfused with this custom. The third one is called "service type" that provides services,

which can be generally divided into two kinds: one is to provide services attached to the sale of software products and consulting services which include the public custom service and specific product service, such as consulting as presales, problem shooting, product updates, system promotion consulting; another is to provide some independent services, such as online business platform like eBay, aMazon.

Most of main "product type" software producers nowadays are in America and EU, who are dominating in setting most of the technical protocols and producing relevant advanced knowledge for the entire IT field. And there are a lot of "project type" companies and "service type" companies in America, EU and China and other active actors in software industry but with different situations. These software sponsors will decompose the software project into many sub-projects according to the standard stratification. By applying standardization they separate perception and innovation from process of realization and implementation in the whole software production and consign later part to one or several different outsourcing services suppliers(such as international software human services supplier in India, China, Ireland, etc) with themselves on the position of supervision.

Meanwhile China as a big market itself has many domestic needs and corresponding outsourcing serving companies. But the domestic software companies are experiencing the contradiction between expanding domestic needs and shortage of software technologies.

China's domestic software outsourcing market

In the case the company BX is a software company subordinated to BB which is a big national owned enterprise on iron and steel. Many Chinese big enterprises with the same background like BB's have their own independent software companies like BX serving for them as outsourcing company. The history about the emergence of this

kind of companies was also interrelated with development of software technologies and organization management. With the expansion of IT dynamic into societal development, many big Chinese business groups needed the advanced IT technologies to improve their efficiency on organization and business management but the secrecy of intra-information became a first obstacle between these groups and independent software companies. And another more relevant problem was that at that time only a few comparatively mature management software had been imported into Chinese software market and there was also few software companies knew well about the specific business operation logics in China besides their capabilities on software development techniques. And besides, those few professional software companies charged a lot for their products and service which obviously was inconsistent with the anticipation of the domestic consumers at their very beginning of software products consumption experience.

There was also another fall between the needs and provision. The needs on IT tools to improve the management in these enterprises actually were very primary. Or we could say what senior managers or leaders in these national or domestic commercial groups could see and anticipate about how much change IT technologies could bring to improve the management were very few. What they offered to change and what the software company wanted to change were at different level. Furthermore, at one hand the software company charged at their average service level within their knowledge structure while on the other hand the Chinese enterprises gave the budget in their own estimation on the needs and costs of human labor. Consequently many big enterprises decided to set up their own software companies to develop the software suitable for their own business needs. By doing in this way they solved the problems in information secrecy, cost, specificity of own business and application level. They could also generalize the solution to the sub-companies with the same background and develop a new business type for the enterprises.

Thereby during 1999-2002 this kind of software companies grew up like the bamboos after the spring rains, which caused a big demand for software engineers like John. However, these software companies after all were different from specialized software companies. Firstly their weakness of technique abilities led to the failure on the realization on many complex operation logistics. The products they developed were basically primary OA[7] systems. Secondly, it was also because of the specialized background of enterprises, these products had strong connection within own trades and lacked popularity on public software market. Consequently the software engineers in this background had no environment to strengthen the technique abilities and only had simple repetition on similar operations logistics with customs in same background. So the bottleneck of technology caused the obstacle for both the engineers and companies to get further development. However, this problem has been improved by Chinese government's decision to encourage the outsourcing export, but which decision also causes some negative influence in a converse way in the process.

Global software outsourcing industry and Identity of an outsourcing software engineer in China

Software outsourcing industry as a specific pattern of global software production as well as its labor division inside appears as a general soci(et)al structure for the discussion about the identities of individual practitioners inside.

Firstly, through the global software outsourcing business the stratification of software production gets carried out through micro organizational levels to a macro societal level. The upper river of the global outsourcing chain, mostly in America and EU, is in a comparatively prior status getting the highest profit and controlling the

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7. OA: Office Automation.

research of advanced technologies by taking charge of the perception and innovation part of the production chain while China in the lower reaches takes position as selling mental human resource as cheap wage labor and being behind in the development of advanced software technologies. China government's wish to expand the domestic software market share got stuck by the low domestic software technology developing level, therefore they tried to draw on the advanced software technology into domestic software industry by encouraging outsourcing export[8], but in a converse way it diminished the development of domestic software companies. All these tendencies show influence to John's identity as an outsourcing software engineer inside.

John as a Chinese outsourcing software serving for a domestic software company actually is like a player at the periphery out of the kernel. The periphery may have the big amount players there but seems playing more superficial function in the whole game. John's identity crisis came with his consciousness about the contradiction between his comparatively top position in a micro scale and low position in a macro scale. Getting "outside" of BX is actually getting step into "inside" of the technology kernel. And now in the China branch of HP John obviously has got further step into the kernel in a macro overview but in a micro scale he is still in a low position of the disciplinary division. John's domestic-avoiding and foreign-approaching tendency in his identity evolvement was reflected in his subjectivity, which would also influence his further identity evolvement in this dynamic discourse.

Secondly, concerning the improving competency of Chinese outsourcing engineers as human resource, America and some other countries show further interest in getting more profit by enhancing the scale and degree of cooperation to upper nodes of production chains, which also changes the discourse between the upper and down sides. The upper sides are considering about getting more profit by moving more crucial part of knowledge production into China but don't want

8. The significance of software outsourcing service export policy is of course far more than this single aspect.

to lose the priorities in the discourse; meanwhile Chinese government implies the emphasis from quantitative export to qualitative export which encourages the interest to gain more priority in discourse by shifting identity as a passive coordinator to a positive one.

This dynamic strategy of identity is apparently reflected in John's subjectivity. From concerns he narrated about the future as an outsourcing software engineer, we can see the underlying contradiction of concerning getting more experience without extra working load which reflects John's different aspects of agencies in his identity. John's unwilling to take extra working implies his identity as a simple outsourced wage labor who appraises own value according to the necessary labor time. The extra working hours then mean to reduce profit in selling the labor with the same salary. But his willing to get more experience implied double meanings for him. Firstly, as a qualified outsourcing software engineer he needs to have the competence to easily get accustomed to different positions in the software production process according to the clients' need. So to keep the vocation of being an outsourcing software engineer in a safe employ status is to keep learning different things. Secondary, to learn more is to get rid of the low status in the disciplinary division to get high position in micro scale. The contradiction between these two aspects can be embodied in John's general strategy of identity evolvement which is not a definite process with precise destination and is always accompanying with resolving different conflicts.

However, no matter struggling in a down side of the chain or struggling up into upper side of the chain, competence and self-orientation have been basic dispositions in individuals' subjectivity like John. Through outsourcing what shared is the risk but not the responsibility. This value is comprehensively shared by all the agencies inside, i.e. the international outsourcing companies, the domestic vendors companies and the individuals. They all show less sense of responsibility to each other.As an individual outsourcing engineer what John think is to move up to get high status in the chain through

getting more competence. But as an objective result what would be seen is the shrink of the distance between the upper and down sides in a societal level.

Conclusively, the identity of outsourcing software engineers will not be unitary or still. It has its meaning constructed and negotiated by every individual software engineer with personal attributes and his or her life concerning different social facts while it exists as some mutual understanding in a societal background. And it will always be evolving in the historical soci(et)al dynamics with its track in individual subjectivities just as what we can see from John's identification.

(Endnotes)
1   …: stretched sound
 ‖ : silence or pause
/…/: selective omission for writing purpose of the relevant theme
[…]:overlapped words
( ): words added to complete the grammar structure to overcome problem caused by linguistic difference in translation and make the sentence understandable in English

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Diversity as a challenge for work communities

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Abstract – Organisations have faced increased internationality and multiculturality in the labour market and in their business environments. As a part of this trend, immigrants are becoming a more significant work force resource for organisations. In this article the question of diversity leadership and counselling for multicultural issues in organisations is discussed in light of the organisational culture and diversity climate, diversity attitude, and power distance related factors in work organisations. The case example from Finland is used to show how organisations and workers experience the multicultural aspects of diversity. Finland is an example of a society with a hitherto homogenous culture, but has faced an increasing level of multiculturality during the last decade. Based on the study literature, apparent needs and study findings an organisation-wide diversity leadership and counselling agenda is further discussed.

Keywords: multiculturality, immigration, diversity, organisational culture, diversity attitude, power distance, leadership, counselling.

Introduction

The increased number of cross-cultural connections and ensuing interdependences manifest in organisations in a variety of ways. The globalisation of working life has numerous forms: worldwide information and communication technologies have changed the nature of everyday communication; there is more movement of capital and people; changing positions of local communities; increased cultural friction between ethnic and racial groups and national education and labour policies have undergone transformations. People, ideas and concepts travel globally at an increased speed, allowing for a greater degree of contact between cultures. Coutinho and others (2008) note that the intensity and the degree of connection between and across different cultures have increased dramatically in the last two decades. Immigration is a politically, economically and socially inevitable phenomenon connected to these global trends. From the point of view of working life and work organisations, the increasing internationality of labour markets, the growing number of immigrant recruitments and the heterogeneity of workers inevitably lead to the awareness of diversity, its leadership and supervision. Diversity is an empirical fact in work life and, according to Thomas and Inkson (2004), these trends have led to a growing need for and importance of diversity and multicultural management strategies in organisations. People in organisations and in the wider labour market are organisations' most significant resource. From the point of view of the success of an organisation, a well functioning culture of cooperation and a successful recruitment policy are significant. In response to these needs, many firms have launched diversity management initiatives to increase employee awareness, develop social capital, and redesign organisational policies (Roberson & Stevens, 2006). In the background however, one can perceive a wider concern about how immigrants may integrate into working life and how their know-how can be utilised in a tightening economic situation in a target country. There are likely

to be highly educated people among immigrants so it is important to think about the identification and acceptance of their knowledge and prior learning in organisations.

However, multicultural working life is not as such a new phenomenon. Perhaps in recent years the matter has attracted more attention. At the same time, the significance of growing internationality and cross-cultural interconnections has been realised. It is important to examine more closely the ways in which organisational cultures differ in their relationships with multiculturalism and diversity and how hierarchies and power distances in organisations may influence perceptions of differences. From that point, it becomes possible to increase tolerance and plan actions in diversity issues. Pitkänen and Kouki have stated that when immigrant numbers increase rapidly, like in Finland faster than in any another Western European country, this increase of cultural and ethnic diversity has turned the emotions of the mainstream population into two camps, for and against. (Pitkänen & Kouki, 1999.) This phenomenon is probably common elsewhere in the world in those areas where the growth of immigration is strong and rapid. Therefore it is more important to reacg agreement on what is fair and equal, and how to cope with the increasing demands of diversity in leadership and counselling practices in work life and work organisations. In this article we discuss the importance of diversity leadership issues in organisations in general and use a case example from Finland (in one multinational organisation) to show how organisations and workers face the multicultural aspects of diversity.

The concept of diversity refers to the ways people differ from each other. Diversity may occur in several aspects like ethnic differences, nationality, race, sexual orientation, gender, age, religious beliefs and may also exist through a variety of staff and interest groups in an organisation (Pollar & Gonzalez, 1994). As such, the concept of 'diversity' is a very complex one. In this article, the examination will focus on multicultural diversity in work organisations. The different views and valuations concerning diversity adopt the alternatives of

traditional liberalism or pluralism: people either adapt by becoming members of dominating ethnic and national groups (traditional liberalism) or a diverse community is born based on mutual respect, appreciation and tolerance (pluralism). Diversity problems manifest in many kinds of inefficiencies, dissatisfactions and conflicts which are often a consequence of ethnic discrimination, racism, nationalism and/or exclusion of marginalized people in an organisation. Diversity leadership and supervision, in their meaningful forms, could be based on a pluralist idea of equality and of mutual respect and could be seen as a resource and tool of successful leadership and counselling practices in an organisation.

A meaningful integration of immigrants into working life has been a question on which many opinions have been experienced. How do immigrants find their place in working life and are they able to utilise their real potential and know-how? How tolerant are different groups of the unequal distribution of power in organisations and what is the power distance in general that exists in a majority culture? How does the co-existence between individuals and groups and the affirmative intercourse manifest in multicultural work situations? What could be successful leadership and counselling practices which take into account diversity in work places? These are the central questions which are elaborated on and discussed in this article from an organisation wide perspective.

Organisational culture and diversity climate in organisations

Organisational culture and its diversity climate could be seen as important context for diversity initiatives and issues among workers and in organisation-wide practices. Organisational culture is a concept which is central to the study of leadership and counselling values, ideals

and conceptions (cf. Lahti-Kotilainen, 1996). According to Edgar H. Schein (1992; 1999) a proper understanding of organisational culture is crucially important for any initiative of development, training, or guidance programmes. Schein (*ibid.*) describes organisational culture as a framework of basic assumptions discovered or developed by a certain group in learning how to deal with its problems of external adaptation or internal unification. From this perspective, organisational culture is a learned result of group experiences, and it requires a common experience base and history.

Schein (1992) divided culture in to three different levels. The first and most visible of these three levels consists of *artifacts*, meaning actual physical objects and the surrounding social environment. In accordance to the social environment, both visible and audible behaviours are part of the level. *Artifacts* may well be in full view of everyone (such as dress codes) but that does not mean they are not complex and hard to decipher. Members of a community aren't always aware of their common practices (Schein, 1992, p. 32). *Artifacts* that are connected to power distance are things that are related to the hierarchy and attitudes towards hierarchy in an organisation.

Espoused values form the next level of culture. Cultural learning reflects the values that people have adopted in their culture, such as conscious strategies, goals and philosophies. Nonetheless, values tell more about how things should be, not how they are. If a system's values are proven to be efficient, they become beliefs and finally assumptions. People can be conscious of the shared values in an organisation because they form a moral code and underlie norms that are being followed. A value code can function as a guideline in doubtful, difficult situations (Schein, 1992, p. 33-34).

The final level of culture consists of the already formed *basic assumptions and values*. It is how culture is represented by the basic underlying assumptions and values, which are difficult to discern because they exist at a largely unconscious level. In order to interpret structures and predict behaviours accurately, one has to understand

the nature of this third level. Beliefs and assumptions are axiomatic to such a degree that within a single cultural environment there is little variation. Beliefs are thus hardly ever questioned or even thought about. Consequently, adjusting one's views in the area of beliefs is hard. When people have different kinds of assumptions, they also encounter intercultural misunderstandings (Schein, 1992, p. 35–37).

Geert Hofstede (1994; 2001; see also Korhonen in this volume) broadly defines culture as a collective programming of the mind. According to him, culture determines a group's identity in the same way as personality determines an individual's. The surface level of culture is represented by the symbols employed by each group. At a deeper level, culture manifests in the people's or group's heroes, or in their rituals. Hofstede agrees with Schein that the deepest level in culture is represented by values. These different levels, surface and deep, may have different manifestations for workplace diversity and diversity initiatives in organisations. According to Martin and Meyerson (1988) organisations are purposeful and the manifestations of ideas in practices are important. Diversity in practice may differ from diversity in ideas expressed. Comparing ideas expressed and actual practices as perceived by others can provide valuable information about the world view of organisational members and the degree to which it overlaps with reality as perceived or experienced by others.

The diversity climate in an organisation tells something about its members' basic assumptions and values with regard to diversity and cross- and multicultural issues. Framed within organisational culture (Schein, 1992; 1999; Hofstede, 1994), it tells about the basic underlying assumptions and deep structure regarding diversity and multicultural ambiguity. Diversity climate research mainly focuses on group differences inasmuch as it manifests as reactions towards workplace diversity and diversity initiatives in organisations. One example of a diversity climate study was made by Roberson and Stevens (2006) who analysed natural language accounts of diversity incidents from 712 workers in one department of a large organisation in the United

States. Their study focused on how people categorise various work experiences as they relate to diversity and attempted to construct a typology of the conditions, events, and situations that people viewed as being related to diversity. Six diversity incident types emerged in the qualitative analysis of incidents: *discrimination*, *representation*, *treatment by management*, *work relationships*, *respect between groups*, and *diversity climates*. Each describes the aspects and situations where diversity issues in workplaces may emerge.

Roberson and Stevens' findings (2006) suggest that incidents pertaining to the diversity aspects or situations mentioned above are salient and represent issues influencing how employees make sense of diversity experiences. It can be said that clarification of facts surrounding recruitment or promotion decisions that are viewed as discriminatory seem important for maintaining or enhancing intergroup relations. Their findings also highlight the role of justice and equality in the effective management and counselling of diversity. By emphasising the fair distribution of resources and outcomes, enactment of procedures (e.g. opportunities for diverse employees or employee groups to participate in decision-making), and interpersonal treatment within organisations may be able to influence diversity experiences positively. They (*ibid.*) further argue that language might also play a crucial role in diversity-related attitudes. Therefore, greater consideration of the language used to communicate diversity events and interactions may help overcome socioemotional boundaries and improve the success of diversity initiatives. These findings generally serve to expose the core questions, like equality and justice in organisational life, which may be the most important areas of development in diversity leadership.

The concept of multicultural work environment is giving rise to a variety of questions in organisations and challenges the basic assumptions and values in organisational culture. Challenges may come from many issues; from cultural collision, sub-group boundaries, co-operation and others. Values and establishing practices may vary remarkably between different ethnic and cultural sub-groups. This

is naturally a big challenge for all organisational and personnel development. Differences in values may have an effect on many things like work motivation, evaluation, reward systems and career paths in professional settings (Sparrow, 2004). In addition, ethnicity manifests in new ways when encounters between diverse ethnic groups become dense. It can be said that people define themselves continuously in relation to others and diversity issues.

The need for diversity leadership and counselling in light of diversity attitudes among workers

When the diversity and equity type of initiatives are considered in organisations it is worth defining who will be the target group in these initiatives, and what might be the attitudes in the dominant group thinking towards ethnic minorities. Attitudes similar to those that people have towards diversity and diverse groups, such as ethnic minorities, can be found in cross-cultural interactional situations in working life and multicultural work communities. Based on European -wide survey findings, four main categories of attitudes towards ethnic minorities could be named: actively tolerant, passively tolerant, intolerant and ambivalent (Thalhammer et al., 2001; Launikari & Puukari, 2005). These categories describe the respondents' general acceptance of ethnic minorities, which seems to be quite constant from one situation to another, affecting the general climate of the communities in which people live and work. The category *actively tolerant* accounts for 21% of respondents. People in this group are not disturbed by the presence of minority groups, like immigrants, and believe that minority groups only enrich society. Respondents who are actively tolerant do not expect minorities to become assimilated and to give up their own culture. Accordingly, people in this category are opposed to the repatriation of immigrants and show the

strongest support for anti-racism policies. The category of *passively tolerant* accounts for 39% of respondents and the largest percentage of respondents. This group has generally positive attitudes towards minorities, whom they believe to enrich the host society. However, this group does not support policies that favour minorities. Negative attitudes towards minorities are represented in the group classified as *intolerant,* which accounts for up 14% of those polled. The reminder of the respondents (26%) belong to the group who are classified as *ambivalent*, who may support the idea of assimilation of minorities. Although these respondents believe that minorities do not enrich the host society, they are not normally disturbed by their presence either. However, they do not support policies to combat racism, and are the group with the most potential if political decisions are taken towards racism and xenophobia (*ibid*.).

It is worth noting that there are many country-, district- and community-specific variations in such attitudes. At the same time, these wide cross-sections of people's opinions do not tell whether respondents have their own experiences of multicultural situations, and, if they do have, how these experiences affect their personal attitudes and opinions towards co-existence. Nevertheless, these research findings raise many thoughts based on the idea that a majority's attitude to ethnic minorities in the workplace may easily give rise to problematic situations; from passively tolerant, to intolerant. In such a case, actively tolerant members may remain only a minority group. Questions related to equal and democratic treatment of all surprisingly often lead to emotionally biased prejudices and attitudes among the advocates of a dominant population. A skilled leadership culture and robust counselling practices (like mentoring programmes) can influence cultural ambiguity and make it fruitful, while halting or preventing emerging problems. However, multiculturalism also simultaneously imposes demands to the whole work community. It is apparently important that the whole organisation and separate

occupational and personnel groups in it support the chosen diversity management strategy (see: Lahti-Kotilainen, 1996; Smith, 2004).

In addition to diversity attitudes, attention should be paid to the multicultural competences of the personnel. In cross-cultural encounters between individuals and groups, multicultural competence is generally needed (cf. Stuart, 2004). Multicultural competence empowers personal agency in cross-cultural settings. This competence is not restricted to working life in organisations, to the managers only or the counselling professionals (HRD people, personnel developers, work supervisors, early career trainers, etc.) but is widely applicable to those working in different tasks on different levels. Several kinds of knowledge and know-how about cultures can be included in multicultural competence, but one core concept seems to be cultural intelligence (Thomas & Inkson, 2004; Earley, 2003), which means the capacity to engage in dialogue with people from foreign cultures and overcome socio-cultural obstacles and boundaries. There are, of course, well-known related concepts such as social intelligence, emotional intelligence and intercultural sensitivity. Nevertheless, they provide important insights for understanding interpersonal interactions from a socio-emotional perspective. Cultural intelligence makes it possible for us to observe and become aware of cultural differences and take cognisance of others (Earley, 2003). It produces in us the capacity to act meaningfully with people from different cultures. A manager who has cultural intelligence acts in a way that is appropriate to the situations at hand and can motivate multicultural teams to operate in a meaningful manner. In a global market, too, where international teams, initiatives, and joint ventures are increasingly common, it is extremely important for members in a cooperating community to act in a culturally sensitive way. Earley (2003) states that too often cultural differences lead to misunderstandings, difficulties and conflicts. Entirely new interpretations and behaviours may be needed to overcome critical moments in collaborative work.

The formation of professional and cultural identities at workplaces has also been described with the help of the 'space' concept (see: Edwards & Usher, 2000; Matinheikki-Kokko, 2007) which describes generally how attitudes (and culture) in an organisation might work for or against immigrant groups. Metaphorically, the space concept refers to what kind of space the every-day working environment creates for the interpretations of identity. Matinheikki-Kokko (2007, p. 71) describes how immigrants interpret and negotiate who they are in new working environments, what their professional status and skills are (including their value), and what the membership terms are. This is a newcomer's ongoing process of identification and socialization within professional and collegial norms and practices. Matinheikki-Kokko (*ibid.*) further describes how work organisations might offer a narrower or wider space for identity negotiations. Funnel communities are communities which make use of a very wide space when recruiting immigrants, but later offer only a narrow space when negotiating on professional, social and functional meanings. Nevertheless, the negotiation process already starts in the recruitment phase where it is decided who can get the job/membership in the organisation and who cannot. According to the immigrants' own experiences, they are often labelled (assigned constrained identities) over which that they cannot have much influence. The real space where immigrants can interactively construct their identity and positioning is thus limited to family or their own ethnic sub-group. They can only properly define themselves outside the working community.

Discrimination, including racism and xenophobia, manifests when work organisations fail to take care of diversity attitude issues. Drawing on survey data and in-depth interviews, Herbert and her colleagues (2006) examined the experiences of Ghanaians living and working in London, and their experiences with multiculturalism and diversity management in the United Kingdom. In particular, the study concentrates on this group's experiences in the workplace, highlighting their widespread and persistent feelings of exclusion and racism in the

U.K.'s low-paid labour market, and how they manage to cope with them. According to the findings, they note that there is a real need to tackle the problems of racism and material inequalities that affect less established, and in particular, low paid immigrant groups. Based on their research findings, Evans & Chun (2007) argue in a parallel way that discrimination is a strong stressor and is linked to adverse physical, psychological and socio-cultural effects, through the effects of cumulative, recurring and often contradictory incidents. At the individual level, stress that results from the impact of subtle forms of exclusion and discrimination at work community level can give rise to increased illness, loss of productivity and escalating health costs. Thus the negative causes, after failing to take care of diversity issues and tolerance, are significant for individuals and organisations and prove that diversity leadership and counselling are crucial for the well-being and success to the whole work community and its members.

The question of culture and power distance

In recent years, because of increasing internationality and multiculturality, managers have come to realize the importance of diversity and the different aspects related to diversity leadershipt as discussed earlier. However, there are differences in how managers handle diversity within a single organisation. A good leadership of culture leads to good results; it affects the functionality of the organisation and thus it impacts the results the organisation makes. Nancy Adler (2002) states that many managers believe that organisational culture undermines the effect of national culture; even overrides it. The managers believe that the employees working in the same organisation, even if their cultural background is different, act more similarly than differently. They tend to think that the cultural differences become important only when

dealing with foreign clients, not when working with colleagues from different cultural backgrounds inside the organisation (Adler, 2002, p. 67). In other words the management believes that the values of the organisation are assimilated despite national culture.

Different kinds of "pecking orders" are an inherent part of any culture. In some cultures the hierarchical structure is certainly more pronounced than in others. If power is a part of national culture, it is also a part of the organisational culture and plays a role in the functionality of the organisation. The more layered the hierarchical structure in an organisation, the greater the power distance (see Hofstede, 2001). Members of different cultures see this power game differently and, if not properly acknowledged, it can be one major cause of conflict.

Culture is often divided into different segments or layers, like Schein (1992; 1999) divides organisational culture into the three levels presented earlier, where some of them are more visible than others. There are different internally found solutions to diversity problems encountered in the organisation. For example, in the case of power distance, the employees most likely have very persistent conceptions of how things should be, what is expected of them and what their role is in the organisation. This may regulate how much initiative they think they are allowed to take and how forward they can be with their superiors. Furthermore, these beliefs are very persistent in time. Schein suggests that in conflicting situations either education on cultural differences or the arrival of a third party may be helpful and make it easier for the employees to articulate their beliefs. However, it is good to remember that even in such cases these beliefs and assumptions will not disappear (Schein, 1992, p. 38).

According to Hofstede (1994), there are five dimensions of national culture. They usually exist together but are not dependent on each other. Different cultures can be quantitatively measured and compared in these five dimensions. The five dimensions are the previously

mentioned power distance, individualism, masculinity, the avoidance of uncertainty and long- versus short-term orientation.

Stuart Hall (1988, p. 69) argues that culture should always be understood in relation to power. It is not just a matter of assimilation because ultimately culture is not a universally applicable system of values. The order of dominance and stratification is very much a culturally defined thing. Some societies have very clearly controlled structures of dominance while others try to hide theirs. The relation to power is first established in other, earlier relationships involving power in different institutions; more specifically in the family between parent and a child and in school between teacher and pupil. In an organisation *power distance* is dependent on the value systems of both the subordinates and the leaders (Hofstede, 2001, p. 79-82). In other words, power distance indicates the level to which the employees accept inequality in a society's institutions and organisations and expect it. With the help of Hofstede's power distance index, it is possible to measure this inequality in an organisation (Hofstede, 1994).

The second dimension has been labelled *uncertainty avoidance*. Uncertainty about the future is part of being a human. We try to avoid it through legislation, religion and technology to name a few. In organisations the avoidance usually happens through technology, rules and rituals. Ways of coping with uncertainty are handed on to new generations and are reinforced in different institutions, such as family, school and state. Cultures with low scores on Hofstede's uncertainty index are more willing to accept the inherent uncertainty of life, they are less anxious, show less emotion, are open to change and curious about difference and new things. Also, young people are respected and risk taking is more common. They are more comfortable with chaos and they believe in an individual's own ability to influence his/her life and the lives of others. Societies with high scores on the uncertainty avoidance index tend to be more stressed, more open about showing their emotions, and feel more powerless. Older people are respected and feared and risks are worth

taking only if they are known. These cultures are also very respectful of law and order (Hofstede, 2001, p. 145, p. 161.)

Hofstede's third dimension is called *individualism*. It is an illustration of the relationship between the individual and the collectivity in which they live. For example, it is usually apparent in the living arrangements favoured in the society, whether the preference is for nuclear family, extended family or tribe. Our cognition, emotions and motivation are all guided by our level of individualism. It is part of our mental programming and thus effects our institutions as well. This implies that the level of individualism shapes the way the organisation functions. In more individualistic societies the ties between the employees and the organisation are not very strong, as opposed to a more collectivist culture, where the organisation has a certain level of responsibility towards the individual (Hofstede, 2001, pp. 209-214).

The fourth of Hofstede's dimensions differentiating culture is called *masculinity*. In this dimension Hofstede refers to the kind of behaviour that is appropriate to the members of one gender rather than the other. Although not all women are nurturing and not all men assertive, these are the dominant gender roles assigned respectively to women and men. Values associated with more feminine cultures or cultures with low scores on the masculinity index usually show a preference to relationships over ego, modesty, tenderness (in the behaviour of both women and men), minimum of social and emotional variation between women and men, work in order to live and so on. Societies with high scores on the masculinity index on the other hand acknowledge money and material things, ego, work orientation, social and emotional differentiation between genders. Men should always be assertive, women may be as well, but it is not expected of them (Hofstede, 2001, p. 284, p. 299).

The last dimension found somewhat later is called *long- versus short-term orientation*. This was found later because the original IBM questionnaire, where Hofstede identified all the other dimensions

was constructed by western people and the fifth dimension was suggested in a Chinese value survey. Long-term oriented societies have higher regard for such things as perseverance, patience and respect for social status. Resources are put into investments and traditions are assimilated as part of the modern world instead of cherishing them as they are. They also emphasise commitment and encourage entrepreneurship. Short-term oriented societies appreciate personal stability and permanence. Traditions are valued as well as fast results, and saving one's face, i.e. avoiding humiliation, is important. This last dimension relates the differences between the traditionally Western and Eastern societies, and naturally, the organisations in those societies (Hofstede, 1994).

These five dimensions can be used when comparing cultural differences in organisations between societies and they can help managers to lead the organisation toward better results and a more efficient environment. It is good to acknowledge the impact of culture in the organisation and not just in situations of dealing with foreign clients and partners. It is essential also to remember the impact of culture in everyday work situations especially in multinational organisations where even colleagues may belong to different national cultures. It is probable that members of different cultures react and handle arising problems differently; accordingly it is good to acknowledge this fact in order to create a well-functioning organisation with as little conflict as possible.

Are organisations prepared for diversity? An examination of one multinational organisation in Finland

In the spring of 2008, the one of the authors conducted a survey measuring the level of preparation and attitudes towards multiculturalism

in one multinational organisation in Finland. A questionnaire was distributed to a subsidiary of a multinational financial services group operating in Scandinavia and Europe. The survey examines the five dimensions of cultural differences established by Geert Hofstede with the help of Hofstede's Values Survey Module 1994. It also includes a part that examines multiculturalism in general and how well the organisation is prepared for it. Employees from different organisational levels answered the questionnaire and the vast majority of the respondents were of Finnish ethnicity. The sample size was 63 respondents and they represent 70% of the personnel working in the domestic unit where the data was collected. Conceptions of multiculturalism in organisation was measured in the questionnaire with a sum variable composed of seven distinct questions. The questions elicited respondents' opinions of whether the organisation had changed in a more multicultural direction and the effect of such change on strategy, demands and guidelines. The scale measuring multiculturalism is from 1 to 5 (1=not at all, 2=fairly little, 3=somewhat, 4=quite a lot, 5= very much). The overall reliability of the sum variable was good (Cronbach's Alpha between 7 items was 0,84).

First the results for conceptions of multiculturalism were divided according to different distinctive groups. When the data were analysed using gender as a defining factor, the most usual answer for both women and men was that there had been some change in multiculturalism, the second most popular answer being fairly little. The gender of the employees did not seem to affect the views on multiculturalism.

| | | | Multiculturalism | | | |
			2	3	4	Total
Age	under 39	Count	6	8	2	16
		% within age	37,5%	50,0%	12,5%	100,0%
	40-49	Count	8	15	2	25
		% within age	32,0%	60,0%	8,0%	100,0%
	over 50	Count	14	11	10	35
		% within age	40,0%	31,4%	28,6%	100,0%
	Total	Count	28	34	14	76
		% within age	36,8%	44,7%	18,4%	100,0%

Next it was looked for differences in the opinions of different age groups. As seen in Table 1, the first and the second age groups thought that there had been some change in the organisation's attitude towards multiculturalism (3) but in the third (oldest) group most employees were of the opinion that there had been fairly little change in attitudes concerning multiculturalism. Interestingly enough, almost the same number of employees in the same age group were of the opinion that there had been quite a lot of change towards a more multicultural environment. The third group, being the oldest, has most probably seen many stages in the growth of the organisation and it is likely that they have more experience in the field. Thus it is interesting that this group in particular shows more contradictions in its thinking. The two other groups chose the answer quite a lot of change (4) the least of all the options. There is a difference in the opinions between the employees under and employees over 50. This difference is also statistically significant (X^2 (2) = 6.061, p < .05).

The data were also divided by level of education to indicate if this had anything to do with attitude to and views on multiculturalism. It is reasonable to assume, according to the findings, that the employees with less education work more often in customer service than the representatives of the two other groups with more education. This may explain why this group with less education seemed to think that there has been fairly little change towards multiculturalism. The employees with the highest, academic education were of the opinion that there had been some change towards a more multicultural setting, as were the employees in managerial positions. These groups may be more aware of the changes in strategy than the first, less educated group, who most probably work with customers in everyday situations. It may also be an indicator of a lack of communication between higher and lower level employees regarding the new strategic guidelines.

Next come the examination of the cultural differences and diversity in the organization by utilising the Hofstede's questionnaire. Table 2 shows where a Finnish organisation is situated on the continuum of

cultural differences. The power distance index in target organisation was 3.26 towards a high power distance. In Hofstede's earlier studies Finland has been situated towards a low power distance (Hofstede, 1994). According to the individualism index in this study, Finnish organisations are quite individualistic, similar to cultural features in Hofstede's earlier work (*ibid.*). However, other Scandinavian countries have scored even higher on the individualism index (*ibid.*). On the masculinity – femininity scale, the organisation in question scored towards the masculine end of the continuum (*ibid.*). Earlier results have indicated more feminine values (*ibid.*). The level of uncertainty avoidance is about the same as in earlier studies *(ibid.)*. In Hofstede's study, there is no precedent in the long- versus short-term orientation in Finland, since this dimension was only found later. Hofstede's results were gathered in the 1970's, but were still considered valid since national cultures and consequently organisational cultures seem to be changing slowly, although there are also exceptions in this.

Table 2. Frequencies of Hofstede's five dimensions describing organisational culture (N=63).

	Power distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty avoidance	Long- versus short-term orientation
Mean	3,26	4,17	3,50	2,65	2,65
Std. Deviation	,444	,459	,366	,489	,489
Skewness	-,049	-,376	-,251	-,142	-,142
Std. Error of Skewness	,302	,302	,302	,302	,302
Kurtosis	,487	-,525	-,448	-,159	-,159
Std. Error of Kurtosis	,595	,595	,595	,595	,595

It is quite clear that not all employees were aware of the rules and strategies concerning diversity and multiculturalism. This case example gives rise to the question of how unprepared organisations may be for multiculturalism. However, being only a limited empirical sample,

it shows the situation in one multinational organisation. There may be multiple reasons for the lack of preparedness. Perhaps these lower level employees in customer service did not know where to look for such information because there had been no acute need for it. In their everyday work they may face fewer cross-cultural encounters. The employees on the higher levels were more aware of the strategic guidelines in the organisation. In a multinational organisation managers naturally have more cross-cultural collaboration and they have to take diversity and multiculturalism into account. However, the influence of these may be difficult to monitor on the lower levels and in every-day business situations. For the functionality of the organisation, it is essential that diversity and multiculturalism are acknowledged on a more profound level. It may also be beneficial for management to be more aware of the whole personnel's views on the matter. Defining the needs on all levels from a multicultural point of view makes organisational development possible.

Conclusions and suggestions for diversity leadership and counselling in a multicultural organisation

When the theoretical and empirical observations presented above are collected together, how possibilities for working together, for learning together and for influencing things together in organisation are implemented appears important. To effectively interact with others from different cultural backgrounds a new kind of flexibility for handling diversity and change – cultural adaptability and intelligence among organisation members – are called for. According to Deal and Prince (2007, p. 31) it demands willingness and an ability to recognise and understand cultural differences, and to work effectively across them. These differences affect expectations, approaches to work, views of authority and other issues in organisational life. Among others Schein

(1992) has stated that organisational learning, development and planned change cannot be understood without considering culture as the primary source of resistance to change. Our research example gave some indications that in a Finnish work and organisational culture (and in other Scandinavian countries, too, according to Hofstede) the change has to begin with a working out of the dominant individualistic culture. Strong individualism rapidly erodes opportunities for cross-boundary learning and influencing.

Secondly, in organisations the core issue seems to be how to turn diversity into strength in multicultural work community. This change must touch all the three levels of organisational culture: artifacts, espoused values and basic assumptions and values (Schein, 1992; 1999). Building an agenda for diversity management in organisation assumes the enhancement of both educational (diversity training) and non-educational (e.g. counselling) learning opportunities. In light of the research findings it is also useful to consider differences in age and background education related knowledge and opinions. There is a clear need to develop diversity leadership policy and counselling practices which support a tolerant and integrative atmosphere in organisations, support equality and mutual respect among organisation members, support career orientation and create shared spaces for the negotiation of professional positions and identity. This kind of agenda for diversity management can include several organisation-wide practices like *a) strategy planning and implementation of a multicultural and diversity policy*, *b) diversity training for organisation members* and, *c) creation of a multicultural mentoring programme* for strengthening cross-cultural collaboration and learning (see Fig. 2).
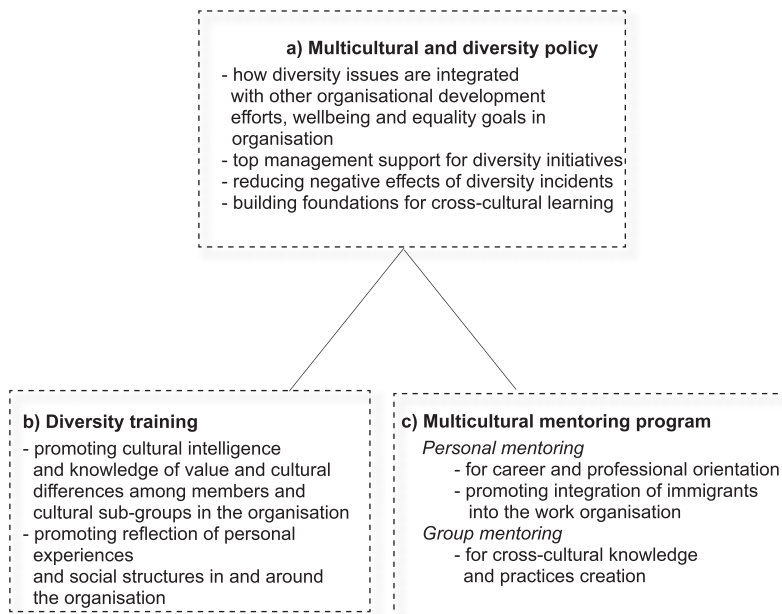
Figure 2. A recapitulation of organisation-wide diversity leadership and counselling agenda.

Multicultural and diversity policy means intentional and well-explicated organisation-wide strategy for how organisation is to face diversity and multicultural challenges. This is ~~not~~ only to reduce the negative effects of diversity incidents, such as discrimination, racism, stress, loss of productivity and others mentioned earlier. It should also look at the positive side of diversity leadership and supervision in the organisation. For instance, what are the possibilities for bringing in extra talent and shared knowledge in work, how to find new perspectives, how to support cross-cultural learning, and how to create opportunities for mutual creativity and innovation? Multicultural and diversity policy is not an issue apart from other aims of organisational development or from the promotion of welfare. However, its significance must be examined from the point of view of the strategic development of the

whole organisation and equality and welfare of all members (or sub-groups) of the organisation.

Diversity training, as formal learning, is to make participants aware of their perceptions and assumptions, so as to ensure understanding of value and cultural differences (Smith, 2004). Training for the enhancement of multicultural and diversity capacities might be the most often used and traditional way of coaching key actors in an organisation for multicultural situations. However, training alone loses its significance if it does not have enough connections to real-life phenomena and to the relations of individuals and social structures in the organisation. St. Clair (2008) discusses in light of research findings how diversity training is usually confrontational to the majority group, causing anger and bitterness among minority group members. She argues that proper diversity training involves inward reflection on past experiences of the self in order to understand the experiences of the other. In addition, Smith (2004) argues that characteristics of effective diversity training must be as follows: it is linked to the organisation's objectives, it is implemented organisation-wide (it cannot result in preferential treatment for some sub-groups) and it must have full support from top management.

Mentoring programs usually consist of informal career guidance, professional learning and development practices. Mentoring has traditionally meant an one-on-one relationship between an older more experienced colleague (mentor) and a younger novice colleague (actor or protégé). However, conceptions on mentoring have developed towards dialogue and participation to collaboration between equals when it is more natural to speak about learning partnerships and the creation of collective discursive spaces for mentor and mentee, or for mentor and several mentees (see: Wang & Odell, 2002; Austin, 2005). With *a multicultural mentoring programme* it could be possible to build on the foundation of promoting diversity and cross-cultural learning. *Personal mentoring* is often needed in the initial stages (or some other decisive stages) of the immigrant's career path where a

mentor can give support in many ways in the integration into the work community, in cultural understanding and in professional orientation. With *group mentoring* it is possible to construct 'shared spaces' for cross-boundary knowledge creation and orientation in organisational life. Cross-boundary learning in 'shared spaces' means the creation of mentoring relationships between members of diverse ethnic and professional group. The target and content of the group mentoring programme could be based on addressing the work and organisational challenges by creating knowledge, and by designing solutions and practices that are more appropriate to multicultural issues.

Robert Putnam (2000) highlights the distinction between "bonding" ties and "bridging" ties when examining the possibilities for the favourable development of social capital. This is also noteworthy from the point of view of cross-cultural learning. According to Putnam (*ibid.*) these two different social ties build social capital, and they are the basic forms of cooperation networks between people. He (*ibid.*) claims that some associations both bridge, in the sense that they bring people together from different social and cultural groups, and bond, in the sense that individuals join them on the basis of what they already share with the group. It can be said that both kinds of ties are essential for healthy equal democratic collaboration, but cross-boundary bridging ties are even more significant for supporting multicultural understanding and cross-cultural learning. Estlund (2003) has discussed how successful bridging associations may link individuals to a more democratic co-existence and how workplace bonds strengthen a diversity climate in and around an organisation: bridging associations operate as sites of discourse and deliberation across lines of social difference. Those associations may permit the exchange of diverse experiences and opinions. It can be stated that successful diversity leadership and counselling means consistency among diverse cultural manifestations and the achievement of organisation-wide consensus among cultural sub-group members. This starts from small steps, but to be developed further inevitably needs a favourable diversity climate and agenda setting in organisations.

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VESA KORHONEN (ed.)

Cross-cultural Lifelong Learning

Globalisation, internationalisation, multiculturalism, immigration, and growing number of cross-cultural encounters are colorising the everyday life both in Western and Eastern parts of the world. However, in most cases, lifelong learning is normally studied in and around a certain condensed culture or from the dominant Western perspective. Thus it is important to ask how we should rebuild our conceptions of 'culture' or 'learning' in the context of these global cross-cultural trends, or how the dominant Western models of education and training really fit in a multicultural and globally interconnected world.

'Cross-cultural lifelong learning' aspires to arouse questions and discussion and elicit experiences and expectations of important themes which highlight the cross-cultural aspects of present-day lifelong learning. 'Intercultural sensitivity' is one core theme which is highlighted and discussed further. The chapters in this book address different phases in the life course from youth to adulthood and areas of lifelong learning in culturally diverse settings; like youth and citizenship education, higher and adult education, and working life. The chapters are offering cases from Nordic countries, Europe and Asia.

The book will interest students, teachers and researchers in international affairs and educational studies; as well as practitioners and counsellors working with immigrants and culturally diverse groups in educational institutions or working life.

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